This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

**Usage guidelines**

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

**About Google Book Search**

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

NYPL RESEARCH LIBRARIES
3 3433 08157436 4

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

# MEMOIRS

OF THE

# ILLUSTRIOUS HOUSE OF

# MEDICI,

FROM

## *GIOVANNI,*

THE FOUNDER OF THEIR GREATNESS,
WHO DIED IN THE YEAR 1428,

TO THE DEATH OF

## *GIOVANNI-GASTON,*

THE LAST GRAND DUKE OF TUSCANY, IN 1737.

ILLUSTRATED WITH SEVERAL

## GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

By MARK NOBLE, F. A. S. of L. & E.
RECTOR OF BARMING IN KENT,
AND DOMESTIC CHAPLAIN TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, JUN. AND W. DAVIES,
(SUCCESSORS TO MR. CADELL) IN THE STRAND.

M. DCC. XCVII.

Digitized by Google

NEW YORK
PUBLIC
LIBRARY

Digitized by Google

TO

GEORGE EARL OF LEICESTER,

*&c. &c. &c.*

IN HUMBLE ACKNOWLEDGMENT
FOR VERY MANY,
AND THOSE THE GREATEST OBLIGATIONS,

THIS VOLUME
IS,
BY PERMISSION,
AND WITH THE UTMOST RESPECT,
GRATITUDE AND DEVOTION,
INSCRIBED,
BY
HIS LORDSHIP's
MOST DUTIFUL CHAPLAIN,
AND MOST FAITHFULLY
OBEDIENT SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Digitized by Google

NEW YORK
PUBLIC
LIBRARY

Digitized by Google

# PREFACE.

AS no authorities are quoted throughout theſe Memoirs, it may be neceſſary to inform the Reader, that various hiſtories of Florence, of Italy, and Europe, have been carefully examined; the literary productions of Engliſh travellers, for more than two centuries paſt, and thoſe of many foreigners, have been peruſed; the whole, conſiſting of ſeveral hundred volumes. Some manuſcripts have been conſulted, and for many years every poſſible mean of obtaining information has been carefully attended to by the Author.

Theſe

Digitized by Google

Theſe Memoirs were addreſſed in the epiſtolary ſtyle to a friend, JOHN SCOTT HYLTON, Eſq. now no more: they are therefore offered to the Public in their preſent form.

After I had completed my work, and not till then, I had an opportunity of peruſing Mr. ROSCOE's Life of Lorenzo de Medici, ſurnamed Il Magnifico; a book not leſs elegant for its diction, than accurate for its facts. It gives me pleaſure in having it in my power to declare, that in my opinion it is a performance every way and intirely worthy of the very great Man, the Patron of Literature, and the Arts, whoſe life is the ſubject of it.

Barming Parſonage.

Digitized by Google

# TABLE OF CONTENTS.


CHAP. I.

A PRELIMINARY chapter, describing the state of Italy prior to the history of the family of Medici, *page* 1

CHAP. II.

Of the origin of the house of Medici - - - 27

CHAP. III.

The life of Giovanni de Medici - - - 38

CHAP. IV.

The life of Cosmo, father of his country - - 44

CHAP. V.

The second part of the life of Cosmo, father of his country - - - - - 53

CHAP. VI.

The conclusion of the life of Cosmo, father of his country - - - - - 67

CHAP. VII.

The life of Pietro, the unpopular - - 83

CHAP. VIII.

The life of Lorenzo, the magnificent - - 98

CHAP. IX.

The life of Pietro, the unfortunate - - 122

CHAP. X.

The life of Pope Leo X. - - - 140

CHAP. XII.

The life of Pope Clement VII. - - - 169


CHAP.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XIII.

The life of Alesandro, duke of Florence - *page* 193

CHAP. XIV.

The life of Cosmo I. grand duke of Tuscany - - 218

CHAP. XV.

The life of Francesco-Maria, grand duke of Tuscany 263

CHAP. XVI.

The life of Ferdinando I. grand duke of Tuscany 292

CHAP. XVII.

The life of Cosmo II. grand duke of Tuscany - 334

CHAP. XVIII.

The life of Ferdinando II. grand duke of Tuscany 356

CHAP. XIX.

The life of Cosmo III. grand duke of Tuscany - 394

CHAP. XX.

The life of Giovanni-Gaston, grand duke of Tuscany - - - - - - - - 432

## GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

Table I. MEDICO Lord of Petrona, *to face page* 33

II. AVERARDO de Medici - - - 38

III. GIOVANNI de Medici, the Founder of their Greatness - - - - - 207

IV. Grand Ducal Branch of the MEDICI 218

V. AVERARDO de Medici - - - 309

VI. AVERARDO - - - - - - - 451

Digitized by Google

# CHAPTER I.

## *A PRELIMINARY CHAPTER,*

### DESCRIBING THE STATE OF ITALY PRIOR TO THE HISTORY of the Family of MEDICI.

AS there is no hiſtory of the Medici in our language, it is preſumed theſe ſheets may not be unacceptable; perhaps, too, they may be of ſome uſe to the Britiſh traveller in his viſit to Tuſcany, eſpecially as ſuch occurrences are interwoven, as have ariſen between that ſtate and theſe nations.

The Medici were unequalled as patrons of learning and the arts, and no family produced ſo many diſtinguiſhed perſonages, which render their hiſtory peculiarly inte-



Digitized by Google

reſting; and the unparalleled revolutions that attended them make it as extraordinary as brilliant. It is, however, much to be regretted, that nature is often ſhocked by the enormity of their crimes: their principal actions are here ſelected, yet not omitting ſuch of the leſs important ones as lead to illuſtrate their characters.

Preparatory to theſe memoirs, a ſketch of the hiſtory of Italy is given, as it will explain many paſſages that could not otherwiſe be underſtood.

Italy, in the earlieſt ages, was divided into ſeveral ſmall ſtates; Rome, ordained to be her ſovereign, united it into one commonwealth, and at length ſubdued almoſt the whole of the then known world; but, incumbered with her own weight, and borne down by the ill-conduct of her emperors, who had impoliticly divided her dominions, after loſing provinces, and even extenſive kingdoms, became ſo much weakened, that the barbarians broke into Italy itſelf, and were ſucceeded by other nations equally



Digitized by Google

ſavage, until, under Odoacer, they put an end to the weſtern empire. This gave place to the reign of the Goths, who, under ſix ſucceſſive kings, governed Italy for fifty-five years; the laſt of them was driven out by the emperor Juſtinian I. whoſe ſon and ſucceſſor, of the ſame name, retained only a ſmall part. Ravenna *, erected into an exarchate, and ſome few other places, were all that remained to the eaſtern empire.

Upon the misfortunes of Juſtinian II. the Lombards eſtabliſhed a kingdom, bearing their own name, which continued for two hundred and twenty-two years. When they were obliged to yield to the puiſſant arms of Pepin and Charlemagne, kings of France, the popes and citizens of Rome united in reſtoring the weſtern emperors in the perſon of the latter, in gratitude for having releaſed them from their imperious and tyrannical neighbours, and Italy, under the

* The exarchate of Ravenna continued from the year 570 to 728.



Digitized by Google

name of a kingdom, was governed by princes of that family; but theſe becoming as remarkable for their folly, as they had been celebrated for their wiſdom and valour, alſo loſt Italy, or rather Lombardy, which again fell under kings of their own electing. Three princes of the name of Berengarius ſucceeded each other; at which time this charming country, towards the Alps, was ſeized upon by the Huns; and the Saracens diſpoſſeſſed the eaſtern emperors of Sicily and part of Naples, ſpreading themſelves over the coaſts lying upon the Mediterranean, and marching to, they were nearly taking, Rome.

Thus was almoſt all Italy governed by barbarians, who tyrannized with all the ferocity which marks the characters of ignorant and valiant nations. The weſtern emperor Otho ſaw and pitied her condition, and finally put an end to the rule of the Lombards, after it had been re-eſtabliſhed fifty-five years *.

* The Lombards were finally ſubdued in the tenth century.

Italy

Digitized by Google

Italy now took a new form; the weſtern emperors poſſeſſed Lombardy, Tuſcany, and Romania; Puglia and Calabria continued to the eaſtern potentates, jointly with the Saracens; Mantua, Parma, Reggio, Placentia, Ferrara, Modena, a part of Umbria, the duchy of Spoletto, Verona, and nearly all that which is now the dominion of the church, reaching from Viterbo as far as Orbietto, together with a part of the Marche of Ancona, was poſſeſſed by Matilda, of imperial deſcent.

A calm promiſed to ſucceed ſo long a ſtorm; but the pleaſing hope was deſtroyed by thoſe, whoſe duty it was to have particularly cultivated peace. The biſhops of Rome, who had often experienced equal misfortunes from their maſters the emperors and the barbarians, finding the latter ruined, turned their enmity againſt the former. Charlemagne had given them the exarchate of Ravenna, ſo that now they began to taſte the pleaſures of governing; and though the Roman people had joined



Digitized by Google

their prelates in liberating themſelves from the imperial juriſdiction, yet they afterwards as reſolutely oppoſed them, endeavouring to drive them out of their city, and which they frequently accompliſhed; but at length theſe wiſe politicians, by a judicious plan ſteadily purſued, not only defeated their ſchemes, but rendered themſelves independent of, as well the Romans as the German emperors, thoſe of the eaſt never interfering, for under the name of popes they became abſolute maſters and tyrants, not only of Rome and Germany, but of all Europe.

To humble the Romans, they deprived them of the honour of electing both emperors and popes; in their ſtead three ſecular, and the ſame number of epiſcopal princes, were ſubſtituted to chuſe the former; and the parochial clergy of Rome, under the appellation of Cardinals, were appointed to nominate the latter; ſo humble an origin have theſe cardinals, who have for ſo many centuries had the preſumption to rank themſelves ſuperior to kings.

To

Digitized by Google

To deprive the weſtern emperors of all juriſdiction over both Rome and themſelves, they denied thoſe ſovereigns their undoubted right to ratify the papal election, and they carried their arrogance ſo far as to inſiſt that none ſhould dare to wear the diadem of Charlemagne, until they were crowned by the popes—how eaſy is it to quote bad precedents? Could the French monarchs have thought that the pontiffs would make ſuch a claim from their having received the crown in Rome, their own capital, as kings of Italy, becauſe placed upon their heads by the metropolitans, their ſubjects and vaſſals!

The imperial houſe of Swabia then governed Germany; princes little diſpoſed tamely to ſubmit to the uſurpation and arrogance of biſhops, whom they juſtly claimed as ſubjects; the diſpute was not decided by any other argument than that of the ſword. The acrimony of the ſucceſſors of St. Peter and of Charlemagne communicated to their partizans the odious names of Guelphs and Gibellines, which, from



Digitized by Google

the rancour of the parties, will never be forgotten. The conteſt was unequal. Europe, wrapped in profound bigotry, ſuperſtition, and ignorance, inſtead of judging as religion and reaſon dictated, were led captive by intemperate and ambitious prelates, who preſumptuouſly dared to call themſelves the vicars of the meek Jeſus, the Prince of Peace.—Thus did the pontiffs, though often of the meaneſt deſcent, and degraded by the vileſt crimes, dethrone and trample upon the moſt illuſtrious, brave, and accompliſhed princes that have ſat upon the throne of the German Cæſars.

Ill-fated Italy, doomed for ſo many years to the moſt ſevere penance, as a puniſhment for having loaded a groaning world with fetters, when ſhe iſſued from Rome her ſtern mandates to the proſtrate ſubjects of her immenſe domain! Her diſorders produced conſtant revolutions, and ſhe again ſaw herſelf nearly in the ſame wretched ſituation as ſhe was when Romulus laid the foundation of Rome; for the inhabitants, wearied

Digitized by Google

wearied out with continual diſputes, in which they were no ways intereſted, declared for themſelves, and hence became a numerous ſet of ſmall ſtates; the wars between the emperors of the weſt and the popes (which continued from the middle of the twelfth, to the middle of the fourteenth century) multiplied them out of meaſure; almoſt every city had its tyrant; the weakneſs and poverty of the pontiffs and Cæſars, the impoſſibility of otherwiſe rewarding the ſervices of particular perſons and places, the pleaſure the holy fathers had in ſupporting both in their uſurpations upon the empire, and ſtill more, the ſatisfaction the heads of Germany had in advancing their friends at the expence of the papacy, eſtabliſhed and confirmed theſe ſelf-created powers *.

The

* The emperor Rodolph, at the cloſe of the thirteenth century, gave, for a ſum of money, freedom to ſeveral of the ſtates in Italy, that he could not ſubdue by his arms. Benedict XII. and Clement VI. in the middle of the fourteenth century, ratified the uſurpations of the tyrants in Lombardy; the emperors paid the ſame compliment, with

Digitized by Google

The republics of Venice and Genoa were early formed, and became the admiration of the world by the ſplendor of their riches, and the puiſſance of their arms; their navies rode triumphant, and their fame was known in every part of the globe: the former has ever retained her independence; the latter has ſubmitted to the protection of Milan, France, and Spain. Venice ſwallowed up Padua, whence ſhe had fled to avoid the Huns under Attala, as alſo Vicenza, Treviſa, Verona, Bergamo, and Breſcia, all free ſtates, beſides many provinces conquered from the greateſt powers, ſome of which ſhe has again loſt.

Genoa owned Corſica, of which, after various fates, ſhe was recently deprived, and which now has voluntarily placed herſelf under the protection, and acknowledged herſelf ſubject to the Britiſh monarch. Genoa alſo held part of Sardinia; the re-

with equal juſtice, by permitting all the deſpots who had uſurped upon the patrimony of the church to hold their eſtates as lawful princes, acknowledging only that they held them as fiefs of the empire.

mainder

mainder of that iſland was poſſeſſed by Piſa, which, with Sienna and Florence, alſo formed conſiderable commonwealths.

Piſa early yielded to the Viſconti, one of whom ſold it to Florence: Sienna was conquered by the ſame family, but, recovering her freedom, retained it until the ſixteenth century, when it fell to Spain, who gave it to Coſmo I. duke of Florence, to indemnify him for the debts that crown owed him, and which were particularly contracted in conquering it: theſe three now comprize the Grand Duchy of Tuſcany.

Lucca * and St. Mazino, the former anciently a prey to various tyrants, the latter now under the protection of the popes, ſtill remain epitomies of the republican form of government.

* Lucca has fallen to the Viſconti and Sforza, beſides the petty tyrants the Faginola, Caſtracani, Spinola, Scala, Guinigi. The Florentines always ſighed for this ſtate, though it was once refuſed by them; they purchaſed it afterwards for 20,000 ducats; but the Piſans drove them out, and deprived them of this ſmall but enviable principality.

Some

Digitized by Google

Some gentlemen of Normandy, in the beginning of the twelfth century, went as adventurers to Italy, and having ſettled there, ſoon drove out the Saracens from Sicily and a part of Naples, when, not receiving thoſe rewards the emperors of the eaſt had promiſed, they with equal eaſe diſpoſſeſſed thoſe weak princes of all that they held, and thus laid the foundation for the monarchies of Naples and Sicily. The one has been governed ſucceſſively by the deſcendants of Tancred the Norman, the princes of the imperial and royal houſes of Germany, France, Hungary, Arragon, and Spain. In this century it was ſeized by the emperor Charles VI. who was diſpoſſeſſed of it by the line of Bourbon ſeated in Spain. Sicily was firſt conquered at the cloſe of the thirteenth century by the French, who loſt it to the houſe of Arragon by one of thoſe horrid meaſures that have diſgraced moſt kingdoms. As an appendage to Arragon, it became a province to Spain. Victor Amedeus, duke of Savoy, received it, but in 1736 it was again annexed

Digitized by Google

nexed to Naples in the perſon of Don Carlos, the late king of Spain, whoſe ſecond ſurviving ſon, Ferdinand IV. is the preſent ſovereign of Naples and Sicily.

The firſt earl of Savoy died in 1023, whoſe deſcendant, in 1416, obtained from the emperor Sigiſmond the title of duke. The princes of this houſe have now obtained the regal honours, in having Sicily ceded to them, which has been exchanged for Sardinia.

The ſovereignty of Milan, that had poſſeſſed herſelf of the republic of Pavia, and braved all the attempts of the emperors, was contended for by the rival families of De la Torre and Viſconti *; and as they were Gibellines, and their enemies Guelphs, the emperor Henry of Luxemberg eſtabliſhed their power as imperial vicars. Giovanni Galeazzo, by a judicious bribe, obtained of

* The Viſconti were deſcended from the earls of Angiera; Otto, upon his obtaining Milan, took the name of Viſconti, or Biconti, as being twice an earl, by poſſeſſing two principalities which had that title.

the

Digitized by Google

the emperor Winceſlaus, in the year 1395, that his title ſhould be changed to that of duke. The Viſconti procured many conſiderable dominions; but amongſt thoſe which they loſt again were Sienna and Lucca; and they ſold Genoa, Piſa, and Bologna: the dividing their eſtates injured their power. The Viſconti were ſucceeded in this rich domain of Milan by Sforza, an adventurer, the illegitimate ſon of a Neapolitan beggar, who marrying Bianca, the natural daughter of duke Philippo-Maria, ſeized the duchy, although that ſovereign had bequeathed his dominions to Alphonſo king of Naples.

The Viſconti were politic, brave, and ambitious; the Sforza were much more ſo, poſſeſſing the greateſt abilities, but reſtrained by no virtue. They extended their rule, not only over Milan and Parma, which they as it were ſucceeded to, but regained Genoa, Lucca, and many other places of leſs conſideration, that had been formerly tributary to Milan, and obtained Placentia, with

Digitized by Google

with ſeveral other rich cities, and threatened to make farther encroachments upon their neighbours, who with reaſon feared their power, as they governed the fineſt part of Italy, commanded armies as numerous as thoſe of France, having firſt taken the Swiſs into pay, and openly aimed at the crown of Italy.

The Sforza at laſt were ruined by their exceſſive ambition. Milan, for two centuries, has received only imperial mandates, and that with ſome colour of right, becauſe, when the emperor Charles V. reſtored Franciſco, the laſt ſovereign of the Sforza family, he obliged him to promiſe, that if he died without heirs by his wife, the emperor's niece, the daughter of Chriſtian, the expelled king of Denmark and Sweden, Milan ſhould become a province to the Auſtrian family, and there being no iſſue of that alliance, the duchy became veſted in the imperial houſe.

Milan is the garden of Italy, of Europe. An ancient author, after ſpecifying the incredible

Digitized by Google

credible riches of the people, ſays: "Milan "is honourable for the court, gallant for "gentlemen, herboroughe for ſoldiers, de- "licate for dames, rich for merchants, and "wealthy for artificers; and there have "been ſome dukes of Milan much richer in "territory, wealthier in revenues and trea- "ſure, more puiſſant in wars, and finally, "more honourable in peace, than divers of "them that had kingly titles. Even the "emperor's governors had a court that re- "preſented more that of ſome puiſſant king, "than the train of a deputy, and often ex- "ceeded the appearance of the imperial "one in ſplendor."

The popes have never enjoyed nearly the whole of what the liberality of Charlemagne and the counteſs Matilda beſtowed upon them; however, by wiſe management, they gradually recovered much. In the ponti- ficate of Innocent III. the dominions of the church were extended to Romania, the Marche of Ancona, Orbitello, and Viterbo, ſpreading itſelf to the Mediterranean ſea and

Digitized by Google

and to the Gulf of Venice; but many of its fineſt appendages ſtill continued diſunited.

Giulielmo, the ſon of Walerano, was a warrior, and the progenitor of a race of heroes, who ſignalized themſelves in the eaſt, aſpired to the kingdom of Jeruſalem, took Conſtantinople, and acquired the throne of Theſſaly. By a female of this family, Montferrat, in the thirteenth century, came to the imperial houſe of Pelœlogus; and by another heireſs, in the ſixteenth, to the dukes of Mantua.

After the counteſs Matilda's death, Mantua was governed by imperial vicars or legates, until 1220, when Sordello, one of her citizens, declared himſelf lord of it. The Buona Celſi governed it for three generations by the murder of Ottenelſo; and the Gonzaga, deſcended from the emperor Lotharius, ſucceeded them, by the ſame deteſtable means, in 1329. The emperor Sigiſmond created them marquiſſes in 1433, and Charles V. raiſed them to the ducal honours in 1530. By marriage they poſ-



Digitized by Google

ſeſſed Montferrat, which was alſo erected into a dukedom for them.

The Gonzaga almoſt rivalled the Medici in taſte. The ambition of the princes of the houſe of Savoy proved a ſource of misfortune to them. They became extinct in duke Carlo IV. who died an exile in Venice in 1708, having been put to the ban of the empire for joining France. Thus Mantua fell to the houſe of Auſtria, Montferrat to Sardinia, and Guaſtella to Parma.

Modena, Ferrara, and Reggio underwent a different fate. The D'Eſtes, who boaſt the ſame origin with the houſe of Brunſwick, now upon the throne of Britain, from governors under the popes became ſovereigns. The emperor Frederic III. and pope Paul II. united to honour Borſo d'Eſte with the dukedoms of Modena and Ferrara. The papal court diſpoſſeſſed the family of the latter in 1597, by a piece of chicanery; but they ſtill enjoy Modena and Reggio.

In thoſe dominions which the pontiffs governed, there were many ſmall principalities.

Digitized by Google

lities. Rimini, Peſaro, and Fano were lordſhips poſſeſſed by different branches of the Maleteſti; Bologna was ruled by the Bentivolio; Ravenna, by the Montefeltiro; Perugia, by the Bailloni; Forti and Ceſena, by the Ordelaſti; the Varano had Camerino; the Monfredi, Faenza; the Alodoſſi, and afterwards the Riario, Imola; beſides many others.

The petty princes or deſpots had been, as has already been mentioned, confirmed in their uſurpation by the emperors, in retaliation for their vaſſals having been declared free by the popes; moſt of theſe fell victims to Cæſar Borgia, the ſon of pope Alexander VI. two of the greateſt monſters that ever diſgraced Chriſtianity: the villainy of the father, who aimed at beſtowing theſe eſtates upon his ſon, was defeated by pope Julius II. and they became for ever united to St. Peter's patrimony.

The Orſino, Collonni, Conti, and Savatelli, with other Roman noble families, aroſe at this time, all of whom are nearly



Digitized by Google

extinct. The Orſini had many principalities; the duchy of Bracciano continued to them until the preſent century; as Piombino, and part of Elva did to the Appiani; Mirandula, to the Pico; and Monaco, to the Grimaldi.

The papacy having now recovered moſt of thoſe dominions to which ſhe had an undoubted right, the ambition that Alexander had ſhewn to raiſe his family to the rank of princes blazed forth, under the name of Nepotiſm, and to an height that diſgraced their character in the eſtimation of all, however prejudiced in their favour.

Innocent VIII. who governed prior to Alexander, is not, I think, reſpecting territory at leaſt, to be accounted criminal; he was contented with the emperor's beſtowing Maſſa upon the Cibo *, which was then

* Alberico Cibo, natural ſon of pope Innocent VIII. was the firſt prince of Maſſa; his father, though content to give him only ſo ſmall a territory, took care by his rapaciouſneſs to enrich him to ſuch a degree as to make him a reſpectable prince.

erected

Digitized by Google

erected into a principality to be held of the empire.

Julius II. the grandſon of a fiſherman, gave Urbino, a duchy belonging to the Holy See, to the De la Rovere, who poſſeſſed it, until, by default of heirs male, it again was united to the papacy by Urban VIII. Leo X. indeed, ſeized it for his nephew, Lorenzo de Medici, but upon that pope's death it reverted to its lawful poſſeſſor. Leo likewiſe detained the duchy of Nemours, in France, for his brother, and meditated to give a great part of Italy to his family; and Clement VII. who was himſelf a natural ſon of the Medici, obtained the republic of Florence to be created into a duchy, to gratify the ambition of one of his family; and this great houſe, who, it is ſuppoſed, owe their origin to an humble apothecary, governed that ſtate, with the commonwealth of Sienna, under the name of the Grand Duchy of Tuſcany, until 1737. The memoirs of the principal perſons of the Medici are comprized in the remaining



Digitized by Google

chapters, therefore it is ſuperfluous to dwell longer upon their hiſtory in this place.

Paul III. of an Etruſcan family, deſcended from German anceſtors, gave the duchies of Parma and Placentia to his natural ſon Pietro Farneſe, who was put to death by the Parmeſians for his debaucheries, yet Paul eſtabliſhed Octavio, the ſon of Pietro, in thoſe principalities. The emperor Charles V. deprived the Farneſe of Placentia, but Philip II. his ſucceſſor in Spain, reſtored them, in gratitude for the eminent ſervices of Alexander, the renowned prince of this family; and which indeed was but a poor return for the many laurels won to deck that crown—Spain has ever been remarkably ungrateful to her benefactors: Columbus was buried, by his own deſire, in thoſe chains with which he had been loaded, for having diſcovered America; Cortes, who added Mexico to that kingdom, died of grief for the inſults and neglect he experienced in the Spaniſh court; and the conquerors

Digitized by Google

querors of Peru fell by the hands of executioners. The Farneſe became extinct in this century: Parma, with Placentia and Guaſtella, were given to Don Philippo, a prince of Spain, brother to Charles III. its late monarch, and Ferdinando, the ſon of Philippo, is now duke.

The ambition of the ſovereign pontiffs was ſo great, that the papacy did not ſeem ſufficiently extenſive to gratify them in the aggrandizement of their families; this put a ſtop to theſe impolitic donations; for it extremely injured the revenues of the ſtate, and defeated all hope of their ſucceſſors ſatisfying the future papal houſes; they have ſince indeed evinced the ſame criminal regard for their relations, but have enriched them, if poſſible, by worſe means, by oppreſſing their ſubjects to the greateſt degree.

What revolutions do a few centuries make! The Romans kept up the form of liberty until the end of the fourteenth century, and made the popes ſo diſcontented



Digitized by Google

with their ſituations, that they often left their capital. They ſeated themſelves at Avignon, in France, from 1307 to 1377 *; yet did they at length govern in the moſt abſolute manner, and raiſed even their illegitimate children to conſiderable principalities, and made the greateſt monarchs tremble at their power; but now they are regarded as little more than the firſt ſovereign prelates; their mandates, and even intreaties, being ſcarcely attended to by ſuch, who profeſs the Chriſtian faith as enjoined by them.

The knights of St. John of Jeruſalem having been driven from Rhodes, the emperor Charles V. gave them the iſlands of Malta and Goza, where they have been ever ſince ſeated; and ſo long as the Ma-

* Avignon is in the diviſion of Provence, in France; it was given to the popes by Joan queen of Naples; the French ſeized it in 1768, and now again, at the commencement of the fatal revolution in that kingdom, the enormities they have committed there led the way to the horrid atrocities, which mark the perpetrators with infamy.

hometan

Digitized by Google

hometan empire was dangerous to Chriſtendom, they were the bulwarks and defenders of thoſe powers which owned the true faith; and often, under the banners of the croſs, theſe religious champions defied all the weight of the Ottoman arms, often were victorious when engaged with the infidels, though immenſe armies, numerous fleets, commanded by the moſt ſkilful veterans, and the whole revenues of many different ſubjugated kingdoms, were employed againſt them, and that too with an obſtinacy that ſeemed impoſſible not to prevail over ſo few, governing ſo ſmall a ſpot, however valiant, however ſkilful in war.

Geneva, having expelled her biſhop, in the year 1553, adopted the republican form of government, with the auſtere tenets that the gloomy Calvin taught. Like other petty popular ſtates they have conſtantly been ſhook and convulſed by revolutions, all of which have added to the acrimony of rancorous parties, each individual wiſhing to command, and none willing to obey.

Theſe

Digitized by Google

Theſe are the revolutions that Italy, and the particular ſtates it contains, have experienced, comprized in a ſummary manner. This delightful country would be one of the fineſt monarchies in the world, was it united under a ſingle head. The jealouſy of the ſmall ſtates that compoſe it is inconceivable. It is with difficulty we can credit the indignities ſhewn to its princes; at one period the heir of Savoy was ſupplicating upon his knees for his father's pardon from the king of Spain; and at another, a doge of Genoa, nearly in the ſame ſituation before the throne of Lewis XIV. Whether Germany, France, or Spain were the moſt powerful, unhappy Italy ſaw her ſovereigns inſulted, and her ſubjects often ſlaughtered.

CHAPTER

Digitized by Google

## CHAPTER II.

### OF THE ORIGIN OF THE HOUSE OF MEDICI.

INNUMERABLE miſtakes of facts, perſons, and dates, are to be found in almoſt every book in our language, in which mention is made of theſe princes of the Houſe of Medici, if they may be all called by that title; yet it muſt be owned that their hiſtory is deſerving of the greateſt attention, becauſe of their aſtoniſhing riſe from ſo ſlender a beginning; the many revolutions which elated and depreſſed them; the great conſequence they gained, not only in Italy, but in Europe at large; the conſtant ſucceſſion of great men that aroſe in this family for ſo many ages, and the difficulty of knowing their real characters, either from the ſcarceneſs of writers upon that ſubject, or from their partiality.

Before

Digitized by Google

Before I enter upon theſe memoirs, it will be neceſſary to take a view of Florence and its conſtitution, prior to the time of Giovanni, with whoſe life the hiſtory of the Medici ſhall commence.

After the death of Conſtantine the Great, Italy, from the ſummit of her glory, fell into the moſt miſerable ſtate, and from which ſhe was unable, during ten centuries, to extricate herſelf: this ſucceſſion of unparalleled misfortunes was owing to various cauſes; the principal of theſe was the weakneſs and wickedneſs of that emperor's ſucceſſors, with the diviſions of the empire, which occaſioned the barbarians to break into and deſolate that once happy region, each ſucceeding the other, until the final diſſolution of the empire, and ſhe became a prey to her ſavage conquerors. No ſooner had they obtained ſome faint degree of civilization from the manners of thoſe they had ſubdued, than the weſtern emperors invaded and drove them out.

The government of theſe potentates was



Digitized by Google

ſcarcely ſettled, before the eaſtern ones endeavoured to deprive them of it. This kept Italy ſtill deluged in blood; and as if there was to be no end to the miſery of this country, no ſooner were they expelled, than the wars of the Guelphs and Gibellines broke out, the rancour of which, for many centuries, is not to be expreſſed, owing to the uſurpation, ambition, and pride of thoſe who called themſelves the ſervants of ſervants, and ſucceſſors of St. Peter.

Florence, aware of the weakneſs of the emperors, occaſioned by theſe continual quarrels, followed the example of many other Italian cities, in declaring themſelves free from all their juriſdiction, and erecting themſelves into an independent republic.

It would be too tedious to mark the various changes in this government, and on that account almoſt impoſſible to give an idea of her magiſtrates, their power, and offices; ſuffice it, that at the commencement of their freedom, the ariſtocratic form was ſettled.

Though

Digitized by Google

Though the Florentines had obtained independency, they only exchanged one misery for another; for as it was impoſſible for Italy to remain neuter, and not declare either for the Guelphs or the Gibellines, ſo they perceived it impracticable to continue without declaring for one party; they had good ſenſe enough, however, to make a judicious choice, by eſpouſing the intereſt of the popes; but many of their nobles and citizens not deſerting the emperors, to whom they juſtly owed allegiance, gave riſe to two contending intereſts in the commonwealth; but in the end the Guelphs obtained a complete ſuperiority.

The governing party, forgetting moderation, raiſed themſelves new enemies in the rich citizens, who by merchandize having acquired fortunes equal to moſt of the nobles, could ill brook that oppreſſion to which the privileged order ſubjected them; taking therefore advantage of the mutual diviſions which had ariſen amongſt the grandees, they firſt procured a part of the magiſtracy,

Digitized by Google

magiſtracy, and afterwards engroſſed the whole.

No ſooner was this accompliſhed than they, in their turn, became not only the tyrants of their late maſters, but alſo of the people; this occaſioned a new intereſt, called the Plebeian, to ſpring up, which, being joined by ſome diſcontented perſons of the other two factions, at length uſurped that government.

Machiavel emphatically ſets forth the direful effects of theſe diviſions, "in all "which," ſays he, "one faction had no "ſooner got the upper hand, than it divided "itſelf into two, and the conſequences of "theſe diviſions were ſuch a ſeries of aſſaſ- "ſinations, exactions, baniſhments, and diſ- "perſions of families, as is not to be pa- "ralleled in the hiſtory of any people, that "has deſcended to our times."

Extraordinary, it muſt be allowed, was the fact, that although thus terribly divided at home, and often obliged to call in foreign princes to govern them, to the endangering

Digitized by Google

dangering of their liberty, yet they extended both their dominion and commerce, though their inteſtine diviſions ſeemed to preclude them from augmenting either the one or the other; ſo that the Florentines were ſo ſingularly circumſtanced, as at once to be the pity and envy of their neighbours. Florence was in this ſtate when the Medici firſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves.

It would afford neither amuſement nor inſtruction either to carry up the pedigree of this family to their origin, or pretend to enumerate all their deſcendants; and, perhaps, both are equally impoſſible, from the meanneſs of the former, and the multiplicity of the latter.

It will therefore be amply ſufficient to take a general review of them prior to their grandeur, and by giving the lives of the heads of this houſe, include in them the principal occurrences of ſuch of the younger branches as particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves; obſerving too, that no more of the hiſtory

Digitized by Google

hiſtory of Florence, or of any other ſtate will be given in theſe Memoirs, than what is abſolutely neceſſary to underſtand them.

The Medici, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, rendered themſelves memorable in the annals of Florence *; but then, and for ſome time afterwards, only as the partizans of other, and more powerful families. The firſt who appeared as the leader of a party was Sylveſtro de Medici †, ſon of Almanno; he was one of the moſt conſiderable of the commoners, and having obtained, by intrigue, the office of gonfalonier ‡, endeavoured to gain a farther depreſſion of the nobles, whoſe power at that time began to revive. This produced one of the greateſt tumults that Florence ever knew, and the plebeians, from their ex-

* Edward I. king of England, gave a penſion to one of the Medici, who ſerved him in the dominions which that monarch held in France,

† Vide the firſt part of the Medici genealogy.

‡ Gonfalonier is another word for generaliſſimo of the republic, and anſwerable to the title of doge.

travagance and wanton licentiouſneſs, almoſt annihilated every trace of regularity and ſubordination. Sylveſtro, not daring to lead the ungovernable multitude to all the lengths they wiſhed, and propoſed to themſelves, loſt their confidence, though not their eſteem. This circumſtance was what pointed out to the Medici the means of governing their fellow-citizens; and though from prudence or timidity Sylveſtro durſt not go farther in his ambitious projects, yet his family never loſt ſight of the dangerous preeminence to which they aſpired, until they accompliſhed their deſign, and having once effected it, never ceaſed to uſe all their powers to retain, and when loſt, to recover their authority.

Veri de Medici, by the death of Sylveſtro, became head of the family, and was regarded by the people with the utmoſt veneration as their protector and advocate, who requeſted him to aſſume the reins of government, in which they were ſeconded by his relations; but Veri, either alarmed for

Digitized by Google

for his own or the public ſafety, inſtead of liſtening to their intreaties, went to the Palazzo, and requeſted the ſeigniory to remove thoſe hardſhips of which the people complained, declaring to them, that unleſs they complied, ſome violent convulſion in the ſtate might be expected, as they had even urged him to ſeize upon the government, but which he promiſed never to attempt againſt the laws of his country. The magiſtrates ſeeming pleaſed with his ſuppoſed diſintereſtedneſs, promiſed to pay the utmoſt attention to his advice, and affected to applaud the nobleneſs of his conduct. Apparently ſatisfied with their promiſes and gratitude he diſperſed the malecontents.

The Albizi, the then governing faction, knowing the ſecret ambition of the Medici, and juſtly diſcerning that this affected moderation of theirs was owing to the not having it in their power to obtain that ſtation they were endeavouring by ſlow and certain means to acquire, determined to make the utmoſt effort to prevent their accompliſh-



Digitized by Google

ing their plans; and for this reaſon, finding themſelves ſtrong enough, they not only redoubled their vigilance, but repreſſed the unjuſt demands of the people, and even retrenched ſome of their juſt rights; and in revenge for the deſign of the Medici to inveſt one of their family with the ſovereignty, proclaimed them rebels, adjudging all of the name incapable of holding any place of truſt in the commonwealth for ten years.

Thus by one of thoſe revolutions frequent in ſtates, where the parties that contend for the government are of nearly equal ſtrength, the Medici fell from the height of power into the greateſt miſery, ſuffering all that the implacable Albizi could invent. Their only conſolation was, that the people regarded them as the martyrs of liberty, and as puniſhed for defending their juſt rights.

The long and proſperous government of the Albizi, occaſioned them to be remiſs in their adminiſtration, which, with the

envy

Digitized by Google

envy of ſome, and the ſuſpicion of others amongſt the nobility againſt Nicola Uzzano, who, upon the death of Albizi, had become head of the party, produced the change in favour of the Medici that will be the ſubject of the following chapter.



Digitized by Google

## CHAPTER III.

### THE LIFE OF GIOVANNI DE MEDICI.

GIOVANNI, the ſon of Bicci de Medici, aroſe like the morning ſun, and not only diſſipated every cloud that overcharged the family horizon, but by his invigorating heat made them ſhoot out and expand ſo much, that they overſpread the whole of the Florentine dominions, rearing their elevated heads above all their fellow countrymen, and affording by their luxuriance ſhade and protection to all thoſe who ſurrounded them;—by his prudence he exalted the Medici to a rank ſuperior to what any of his anceſtors had obtained, and laid the foundation for their future grandeur.

It is often difficult to retain a power which has been long eſtabliſhed, it is more

ſo

Digitized by Google

ſo to obtain it, and next to an impoſſibilty by uſurpation, eſpecially in a free ſtate. Under pretence of patriotiſm, tranſient revolutions are ſometimes effected in ſuch governments, but it ſeldom happens that the uſurper hands down his authority to his deſcendants.—Where are now the Cromwells?

Giovanni, conſcious of his critical ſituation after the fall of his family, affected rather a ſecure privacy than a dangerous popularity; and although he had, in the year 1321, been raiſed to the office of gonfalonier, he carefully avoided any deſire of partaking in the magiſtracy, and ſeemed to be intirely engroſſed by merchandize, which he extended from the Eaſt throughout Europe.

This conduct, as on one hand it threw his enemies off their guard, on the other, enabled him to acquire an immenſe fortune, of which he made a proper diſpoſition amongſt all ranks of people, won him the favour of great numbers, and ſtrengthened thoſe already attached to the intereſt of his



Digitized by Google

houſe. Even his perſon aſſiſted him in obtaining the pity and commiſeration of his fellow-citizens, as there was an air of melancholy diffuſed over his face.

Many, even of the ruling party, either gained by his liberality, or pleaſed with his amiable and retired conduct, propoſed to the ſeigniory to admit him into the magiſtracy, and though the propoſal met with great oppoſition, particularly from Uzzano, it was carried in the affirmative.

Aware of his anceſtor's raſhneſs in declaring ſo openly for the plebeians, and fearing the fate of the leaders of former factions, he continued to affect privacy and retirement, accepting any office in the ſtate with the utmoſt appearance of reluctance, and never attending at the Palazzo, unleſs particularly ſent for by the ſeigniory. This ſeeming modeſty diſarmed the other party, by taking away every plea they might urge againſt him, procured an addition of friends, a greater ſtability of power; and, as if every thing conſpired to advance his authority, the war which Uzzano had, contrary to his advice,

Digitized by Google

advice, declared againſt the duke of Milan, though every way juſtifiable, was unfortunate, and extremely expenſive. In the ſame proportion as he roſe in the eſteem of the people, his enemies became unpopular.

Giovanni, having now obtained a decided ſuperiority, ventured to procure that thoſe taxes which the nobles had exacted with the utmoſt ſeverity and partiality from the people alone, ſhould be levied upon the two firſt orders, in common with the plebeians; and that a law ſhould be ordained by which perſonal property might be taxed. Yet fearing to enrage the nobles too much, under pretence of juſtice and moderation, he would not conſent to the paſſing of a retroſpective law, to oblige them to pay arrears according to the late aſſeſſments.

The nobles, who now ſaw with the deepeſt concern their conſequence ſo ſenſibly wounded, and their power ſo much diminiſhed, held ſeveral conſultations in private, how they might effect his ruin; but their want of unanimity prevented any thing deciſive

Digitized by Google

ciſive from being carried into execution. The people, alarmed for the ſafety of their leader and patron, offered him the ſovereignty, which his relations and friends urged him to accept; but this his prudence forbad him to take, as with the title of lord he would have gained alſo that of tyrant; for knowing that he poſſeſſed the real power, he remained inflexible to all the intreaties of his relatives, his real friends, and thoſe who wiſhed him, under pretence of zeal for his ſervice, to do what they would gladly have made the pretence to have ruined him, by raiſing him to ſo dangerous a preeminence, only, to caſt him down, and bury him under the ruins of his own greatneſs; but his ſagacity ſaw the danger that vanity ſpread to deceive, to betray him, and his firmneſs and moderation made him avoid that rock upon which ſo many ambitious men have been wrecked. Thus, by his ſingular prudence, he died poſſeſſed of all the power of the ſtate, with the affectation of being the moſt diſintereſted citizen in the commonwealth. His death happened in the year 1428.

Giovanni

Digitized by Google

Giovanni was graceful in his perſon, and his affability to all eſtabliſhed his character for moderation. His extenſive knowledge and pleaſantry made his company eagerly ſought. As all his actions were placid and ſerene, he was not in want of that trumpet of ſedition, popular declamation, which he never attempted. Much to his honour, his elevation was not procured even by the baniſhment of a ſingle individual, a circumſtance until then unknown in Florence, where every new adminiſtration was marked with the ruin of families, and by ſcaffolds ſtained with blood.

By Ricarda, or Naunina, daughter of a reſpectable citizen of the names of Odoardo Baeri, Giovanni left only two ſons, Coſmo and Lorenzo, from whom ſprung the two celebrated branches of the houſe of Medici. Giovanni is always looked upon as the common anceſtor, and as ſuch he is repreſented in the celebrated Florentine gallery, where both branches, including ſome of their wives, are painted at full length.



Digitized by Google

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE LIFE OF COSMO, FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY.

THE life of Giovanni is too ſtill and quiet to afford thoſe ſtriking lines of character that give us ſo much pleaſure and pain, by intereſting all our paſſions, by keeping them ebbing and flowing from the elevation or depreſſure of the perſon who is the ſubject of our attentions; the lives of Coſmo, and thoſe who follow him, will appear more intereſting.

Coſmo, the eldeſt ſon of Giovanni, was born in 1389, and received his baptiſmal name from his birth happening upon the feſtival of St. Coſmo and St. Damien. The vaſt fortune his father had bequeathed him was exceedingly increaſed from his having been adopted by Balthazar Cotta, the degraded pope, John XXIII. His popularity kept pace with his riches. When Giovanni

vanni died he was in the prime of life, and though his complection was ſwarthy, he had an agreeable perſon, was well made, of a proper ſtature, and in converſation united an happy intermixture of gravity with occaſional ſallies of pleaſantry and repartee. He had ſhewn his ambition by urging his father to ſeize the government; and though deference to a parent had checked his ardour, yet, that obſtacle removed, it blazed out, and that with redoubled violence, to the alarm of the moſt diſcerning of the Florentines, who wiſely foreſaw what muſt be the conſequence of his ambitious deſigns, if not immediately checked.

Actuated by theſe motives, the citizens ſolicited Uzzano to act decidedly againſt him, but that nobleman equally fearing Rinaldi, ſon of the former Albizi, declined it; but the death of this perſon determined Uzzano to make one grand effort to recover the authority his family had been deprived of by the Medici. The period ſeemed well choſen, Coſmo having rendered himſelf

Digitized by Google

ſelf unpopular by commencing a war againſt the Lucceſe, which had proved very unfortunate. In vain did he place it to the ill conduct of the commanders, for the people ſtill continued to attribute it intirely to thoſe who had the conducting of the government.

Albizi exclaimed againſt him, that not content with plunging the republic in a ruinous war, he had deprived the people of the means of paying the taxes for the ſupport of it, by ſettling ſeveral manufactories in Lyons and Antwerp, which ſupplied France, Spain, and England with thoſe articles they had been accuſtomed to purchaſe of Florence, aſſigning as a reaſon for it the additional profit he received; theſe allegations, as they were known to be true, made a very deep impreſſion upon the minds of the people.

Florence now became divided between the intereſts of theſe two powerful families, perhaps both equally enemies to her freedom. Faction ran ſo high, that the magiſtrates and judges became the tools of the



Digitized by Google

one, or of the other party, and many of the grandees, from envy of their relations, who were in the magiſtracy, went over to Coſmo; ſo on the contrary, Albizi, by his popular complaints, in which the people were particularly intereſted, won many of that order, and inſtead of a contention between the nobles and plebeians as uſual, it was now between two powerful rivals.

To the infinite mortification and indignation of Coſmo, Albizi, by his activity and perſeverance, at laſt obtained the office of gonfalonier for Barnardo Guadagni, whoſe debts he was obliged to diſcharge before he could act; this man, thus won, was obliged to perform what his patron choſe to command.

Coſmo was ſoon ſenſible of this, for he was immediately ſummoned to the Palazzo as an incendiary. Relying upon his good fortune, and many friends, he obeyed the mandate, but no ſooner did he appear before the ſeigniory than, to his great ſurpriſe, he was arreſted, and ſaw himſelf cut off from

Digitized by Google

from the assistance of his friends; the Albizi having surrounded the Palazzo, with arms in their hands, demanding justice; but justice is ill administered when she is dictated to by armed violence.

The conspirators were divided in their opinions as to the disposal of their prisoner. Most of them inclined to follow the advice of Peruzzi, who recommended taking him off by poison. Cosmo, confined in the Alberzettino, a room in one of the turrets of the Palazzo, could hear this dreadful consultation, which was determining not in what manner he should be tried, but in what way he should be put to death; and finding that he was to die by an infusion of poison secretly administered to him, he resolved, rather than give them the opportunity of thus dispatching him, to die by the very mean he used to avoid it, eating only bread, and of that scarcely a sufficient quantity to sustain life.

Cosmo lived in this manner four days; and, shut up from all his kindred and friends, he

Digitized by Google

he ſoon expected to be numbered with the dead; but here, as it ſometimes happens, he found relief where leaſt expected, from the man who had been engaged to take him off. Malavolta, the keeper of the priſon, either from compunction, diſſatisfaction, or the youth and misfortunes of the illuſtrious ſufferer, relented, and inſtead of purſuing any criminal intentions againſt the life of Coſmo, after upbraiding him with entertaining ſo unworthy an opinion of him, declared that his fears were intirely groundleſs.

To convince Coſmo of this he ſat down, and partook of every thing the priſoner choſe to eat of. The expreſſions of gratitude, together with his moſt engaging manners and great promiſes, intirely won Malavolta, who, to ingratiate himſelf ſtill farther in the good opinion of Coſmo, invited Fargaccio, the moſt celebrated wit in Florence, to dine with him the next day, from the idea that his ſprightly mirth would contribute to lighten his misfortunes.



Digitized by Google

Cosmo, as it had been preconcerted, at a signal given, gained a private conference with Fargaccio, for Malavolta, retiring under pretence of business, left the prisoner and the wit his friend together. Cosmo improved the important moment, told him that his enemies indeed had taken much of his vast property, but fearing such an event, he had secreted by far the greatest proportion of his wealth; and finding the indigent man listen to this with attention, he ventured to express how much he should think himself obliged by gratitude, and the ties of honour, to reward those who should contribute to his enlargement, and then, taking half of a ring from his pocket, said, "May "I request you to take this to the governor "of St. Mary's new hospital, who will pay "into your hand eleven hundred ducats, "one thousand you will please to present to "Guadagni, who is my friend, and do "me the favour to accept the remainder "yourself."

Fargaccio, from the present reward, and

in

Digitized by Google

in expectation of a ſtill greater, the confidence repoſed in him, and commiſeration for the priſoner, after ſome trifling excuſes accepted the ſervice, and performed it with ſingular addreſs.

Coſmo, by this judicious management, effectually prevented any violence being uſed towards his perſon. Guadagni, though he had been the tool of Albizi to ruin Coſmo, now he received more money to ſave him, was honeſt enough to take every mean to deſerve the laſt bribe, by accelerating his trial two days before his enemies, when they ſaw that their ſecret violences could not be effected, had propoſed, and by a ſelection of ſuch judges as were intirely in the intereſt of the priſoner.

Such, however, was the power of Coſmo's enemies, and the alarm for the public liberty, that theſe judges durſt not acquit him, but paſſed the ſentence of baniſhment to Padua upon him; his two particular confidents, Averardo de Medici, and Puccio Pucci, were included in it, together with



Digitized by Google

many others, his relations and friends. This event happened October 3d, 1433.

Cosmo received this determination of his judges with a composure that gained him the compassion and the admiration of many of his most inveterate enemies. Albizi, when he had sufficiently recovered the shock which Guadagni's desertion had occasioned, determined not to be deprived of his devoted victim, resolving to destroy him openly, as he was prevented doing it secretly. For this purpose he had laid his plan to surprise the enemy of his family in his way to Padua, and put him to death. Guadagni, sensible of the danger, took the most effectual means to prevent it, by accompanying him, attended with a strong guard, to Cosmo's house, and thence until he had passed the frontiers of the Florentine dominions, where he knew the inexorable Albizi durst not attempt to carry his purposes into execution.—Let us now quit the illustrious sufferer, and recommence his life in a future chapter.

CHAPTER

Digitized by Google

## CHAPTER V.

### THE SECOND PART OF THE LIFE OF COSMO, FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY.

IT will be proper to take a view of Coſmo's ſituation as an exile, before it is ſeen what effects his baniſhment produced in Florence. Padua, to which he was confined by his ſentence, was in the dominions of Venice; but before he could reach that place, he received a deputation from the ſenate, the purport of which was to condole with him for his misfortunes, and to promiſe him their protection and aſſiſtance in whatever he ſhould deſire.

He experienced the treatment of a prince, rather than that of an exile. Nor were that wiſe people without good reaſons for ſuch a conduct. Venice had long regarded Florence as her rival in commerce, and hoped, by conferring upon Coſmo the moſt flattering diſ-



Digitized by Google

tinctions, to prevail upon him to reſide there in future, prudently ſuppoſing that the manufactories of Florence, and the great commerce the Medici had carried on throughout Italy, and extended far beyond it to the wealthieſt kingdoms in Europe, would become their own by enrolling him amongſt their ſubjects.

Let us turn our eyes to Florence, which had driven out her richeſt citizen. There it will be found, that even the party that had occaſioned this diſgrace to him, were far from enjoying the pleaſures of triumphing over a foe they had ſubdued, for Albizi's fears were not allayed. Inſtead of viewing the baniſhment of Coſmo as any ſecurity to himſelf, he dreaded it, as what would be at a future period the common ruin of himſelf, his family, his friends, and of his party.

He did not, however, ſit idle waiting for the ſtorm to overwhelm him: he ſtrove, by every means he could deviſe, to avert the threatened danger, never ceaſing to importune

Digitized by Google

tune the nobles to deprive the plebeians of any ſhare in the government, knowing they were the chief ſupport of the Medici; but either from envy of him, or fear of the people, the propoſition was declined.

Coſmo had his friends conſtantly employed, both to aid his cauſe, and to encourage him to hope for a reſtoration to his patrimony, and even his former conſequence. A letter that was ſent to him fell into the hands of his enemy and rival, in it was expreſſed the high eſtimation in which he was held by the Florentines, and how much they ſighed for his return. The poverty and diſtreſs to which the artizans were reduced, both on account of the want of employment, and likewiſe the loſs of thoſe expenſive donations they had ſo conſtantly received at the hands of Coſmo, were the reaſons aſſigned for this change of ſentiment.

The Medici ſeemed by their misfortunes to be endeared to their countrymen, for the people at large, as well as many of the indigent nobility, turned with averted



Digitized by Google

eyes from Albizi, when they ſaw him aim at ruling Florence, with the mean idea of erecting a deſpotiſm as ſevere as that by which Coſmo had governed, and found he had no poſſible advantage to offer in exchange for that trade, with which the Medici had enriched the ſtate. It was in vain that Albizi called upon the nobles to arm in their own defence; alike deaf to his menaces and intreaties, they reſolved to adopt no violent counſels.

The friends of Coſmo, aware of the impolicy and hatred of Albizi, were as active in their defence, as he in attempting to effect their total ruin; fortunately Palla Strozzi, a man of very conſiderable weight, either was or pretended to be convinced, that it was abſolutely neceſſary for the republic that moderation ſhould be uſed, and that the violence which Albizi urged would be every way dangerous; to theſe ſentiments the Medicean party won over Cocco, the new gonfalonier, who, in the private meetings which were held by them, was prevailed upon to ſummon the heads of

Digitized by Google

of the nobles, who were their principal enemies. Theſe great men, inſtead of following the example of Coſmo in ſubmitting to the laws, flew to arms, and ſurrounded the Palazzo. This conduct, daring as it was, did not intimidate the magiſtrates, but determined them to make a moſt vigorous defence.

Florence now ſaw herſelf divided between two factions, each armed againſt the other; happily there was at that time in the city pope Eugenius IV. who, in conformity to his character, ſet on foot a negotiation for peace, and at laſt, through his perſuaſion, Albizi and his friends agreed upon a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, of which Coſmo's party took advantage, and introduced ſome troops into the city in the night; when, having immediately ſummoned a balia, or ſenate, his baniſhment was repealed, and Albizi and his partizans were declared rebels.

This procedure was the more inexcuſable, becauſe the Mediceans had juſt before pledged

Digitized by Google

pledged their honour in the moſt ſolemn manner, that they had no deſign whatever of recalling Coſmo, without the general ſenſe of the magiſtrates. Eugenius alſo vainly exclaimed againſt the breach of faith, eſpecially as his holineſs had put the Albizi under his particular protection. Factions ſeldom regard either promiſes or oaths; the ſacredneſs of the pontifical character even in that age was diſregarded, and his good intentions were treated with ſcorn and contempt by Albizi, who in return for his offered conſolations replied, that he was alone to blame in fooliſhly imagining "that a man who had been driven out of "his own country, ſhould have intereſt "enough to protect another any where "elſe."

In this manner was Coſmo's reſtoration effected, after he had been one year in exile; and the Albizi, from the heat and imprudence of Rinaldo, united with the coolneſs and perfidy of his friends, were driven diſgracefully from that very republic, which had owed

Digitized by Google

owed ſo much to his family, and had ſo lately ſet him at the head of it; whilſt Coſmo was received into Florence with a joy never before known, the inhabitants ſaluting him the benefactor of the people, and the father of his country. How well he deſerved theſe glorious epithets let impartiality judge from his ſubſequent conduct.

Inſtead of that moderation which would have done honour to both his judgment and his heart, he ſeized the preſent moment to effect the ruin of his enemies, whilſt the heat of his party was warm from their recent diſgrace, and before time could cool their paſſions; for this purpoſe he had the courage to adopt the moſt cruel and unmanly policy of venting his reſentment upon thoſe who had declared themſelves againſt the dangerous pre-eminence of his family. Nobles were reduced to the ſtation of commoners; ſeveral he put to death, and that in the moſt ignominious manner. Thoſe already baniſhed were ordered farther from the

Digitized by Google

the frontiers, or obliged to remain abſent: great numbers of all ranks were included in the ſame ſentence. Machiavel, the panegyriſt of Coſmo, paints this tranſaction in the moſt lively colours. "This was not "done," ſays he, "from party rage, but "becauſe of their riches, alliances, and pri-"vate connections, ſo that though there "was not ſo much blood ſhed in this pro-"ſcription, yet it might in ſome meaſure "be compared to that under Sylla and Oc-"tavius."

But, as if injuries were not of themſelves ſufficient, Coſmo added inſult, by making their misfortune the ſubject of his mirth. Albizi ſent him a letter, ſaying, "The hen "was hatching:" To which he, equally laconic, replied, "She would have but a "bad time of it, ſo far from her neſt:" And when ſome other of the exiles acquainted him that "they were not aſleep," he anſwered, "he could eaſily believe that, "for he thought he had ſpoiled their ſleep-"ing." At another time, ſome of the citi-

zens

Digitized by Google

zens remonſtrated with him upon the odiouſneſs of his conduct in baniſhing ſo many perſons; telling him, "the republic would "be extremely weakened, and God offended "by the expulſion of ſo many good and pious "men as he was ſending into baniſhment." His anſwer was, "It would be better for "the republic to be weakened than utterly "ruined; that two or three yards of fine "cloth made many a one look like a good "man; but that ſtates were not to be go-"verned or maintained by counting a ſtring "of beads, and mumbling over a few *Pater* "*noſters*." Cruelty, blended with meanneſs of ſoul, could alone dictate ſuch language againſt his fellow ſubjects, who were amenable only to the laws, and whom he had driven from their families and country without any other right than what ſucceſsful violence gave him.

Conſcious of the reſentment he had juſtly incurred, by injuries of every kind againſt the enemies of his houſe, he took every method that prudence could dictate to ſecure

cure himſelf. He recalled the Alberti, and all the other families that had fallen into diſgrace from oppoſing the Albizi. He gratified all his friends, and won others to be ſo, by the confiſcation of the effects of ſuch as had been proſcribed. He aboliſhed the ancient method of emborſation, or chuſing the magiſtrates by lot, adopting the balia in its ſtead; of which he conſtantly appointed the members; and ſuch who had criminal juriſdiction were always elected out of the number of thoſe who were his tried friends.

What ſeemed the higheſt degree of cruelty was, that the exiles were prohibited returning to their country after the term of their baniſhment was expired, except they could obtain the approbation and conſent of the ſeigniory, and a majority of thirty-four out of thirty-ſeven of the colleges. The leaſt appearance of commiſeration for any of thoſe who were in diſgrace, was puniſhed in the moſt exemplary manner. A ſign or a geſture was alſo criminal, if it was ſup-



Digitized by Google

poſed to convey pity to them, or diſlike to that revolution that had placed them in that ſituation.

To fence himſelf againſt the exaſperated citizens, whom he had driven into exile, and whom he feared would join ſome powerful prince or ſtate, and give him, by ſo doing, no ſmall uneaſineſs, he concluded alliances with the pope, the duke of Milan, and the Venetians; the latter of whom became the abject tool of his revenge, by delivering up ſome of his principal opponents, whom he cruelly put to death. Extraordinary as it may appear, with all theſe complicated violences againſt his fellow ſubjects, Coſmo had the conſummate effrontery to aſſert, that nothing which he had done againſt them was to ſatisfy his private revenge, but that all was for the ſecurity and advantage of the republic at large, to the laws of which he profeſſed the greateſt reſpect.

His misfortunes however taught him, that the affectation of grandeur is more dangerous in a free ſtate than uſurpation. He adopted therefore the dreſs, behaviour, and

Digitized by Google

and manners of living of a private citizen. His clothes were of the ſame faſhion and materials as the reſt of the Florentines. In the ſtreets he walked alone and unguarded. His table was ſupplied from what his eſtate of Mugello produced, nor had he one ſervant more than was abſolutely neceſſary; thus endeavouring to unite the character of a prince, with that of a merchant, and a private perſon in a republic.

Whilſt he rejected all offices in the magiſtracy, no buſineſs was tranſacted without its being firſt ſettled at Mugello. Nor did he contract any alliances but with the ſons and daughters of the citizens of Florence, yet all foreign princes and courts paid his children the reſpect due only to thoſe of ſovereigns, and the family of Coſmo received educations equal to thoſe of the greateſt potentates.

A proper judgment may be formed of his immenſe traffic, and the prodigious advantages accruing from it: For though a private citizen of Florence only, yet he poſ-

ſeſſed

Digitized by Google

ſeſſed at one time more money than what was in all the treaſuries of the different ſovereigns in Europe. Our Henry V. the conqueror of France, pawned the jewels of his regalia for the trifling ſum of twenty thouſand pounds. Such a ſum to Coſmo was very inconſiderable.

In his public and private charities, in the number and grandeur of the edifices he erected, not only in Florence, but in the moſt diſtant parts of the world; and in the foundations which he endowed, he ſeemed to more than vie with majeſty. He ſupplied moſt of the exigencies of the ſtate from his private purſe; and there were few citizens that had not experienced his liberality, and many without the leaſt application, particularly the nobles.

Though unlettered himſelf, he was the patron of genius and learning, and drew many, diſtinguiſhed for their knowledge and abilities, to Florence; amongſt others was Argirophilus, a learned Greek, who firſt taught that language in Italy after the de-



Digitized by Google

clenſion of the Roman empire. Coſmo ſupported him, and Marcileo Faccino, who reſtored the Platonic philoſophy; and that the latter might purſue his ſtudies with greater eaſe, he gave him an eſtate, and built him an houſe at Corregio. In this manner did he lay the foundation of learning in Florence, and which diffuſed itſelf ſoon after through Italy, and thence into many other parts of Europe.

Coſmo's vigilance, affected modeſty, judicious diſpoſition of his vaſt fortune, magnificence, and public ſpirit, ſecured to him domeſtic quiet. Nor was he leſs happy in his foreign connections, owing to his perfect acquaintance with the characters of the various ſovereigns, their intereſt and deſigns; and by his munificence to ſome, and withholding his loans from others, he was uniformly ſucceſsful in his wars, one inſtance only excepted; and under him Florence enlarged her dominions.

The ſequel of the hiſtory of this extraordinary man will be ſeen in the following chapter.

CHAPTER

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE CONCLUSION OF THE LIFE OF COSMO, FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY.

COSMO's life, after his return from baniſhment, was an uninterrupted ſeries of proſperity. He was conſidered as the richeſt and happieſt citizen in the univerſe. At length, however, his party, like all the preceding ones, divided into two; but his immenſe riches, great authority, and fear of their common enemies, influenced them to remain quiet until the death of Neri Capponi, the head of the other diviſion of the Medicean party; for he had always reſpected Coſmo, and had prevented all attempts to ſubvert him by the violence of his own faction.

Capponi's death, which happened in 1455, was looked upon by all the diſcontented in Florence, eſpecially the grandees, as a moſt fortunate circumſtance. Accuſtomed

to command, they could ill brook that diſgrace and contempt to which they were reduced, by a family ſo much inferior to themſelves both in rank and antiquity. They ſaw, with the deepeſt concern, many of their order driven ignominiouſly into baniſhment, others levelled to the rank of commoners, and all that eſpouſed their cauſe oppreſſed with the heavieſt taxes; a grievance that was heightened by the arbitrary and ſevere manner in which they were exacted.

Great as theſe multiplied misfortunes were, yet they affected only one part of the inhabitants of Florence; but the murder of Balduccio, a citizen of the firſt merit, procured by Coſmo, gave a ſhock to all ranks. They ſaw that men became dangerous in the ſame proportion that they exceeded in merit. This deſervedly popular character had returned home to receive the reward of his gallant actions, and his laurels were then blooming with a recent victory; yet this man, who had no crime laid to his charge,

Digitized by Google

charge, could not eſcape the fears of his country's enſlaver, becauſe his diſintereſted virtue awakened the ſuſpicions which all uſurpers feel.

Coſmo was chiefly ſupported in his adminiſtration by the balia, or ſenate, which gave him the conſtant appointment of the magiſtrates: the nobles were aware that if ever it was poſſible to reduce him again to the ſtation of a citizen, it muſt be effected at the time, when the period of the balia was near its concluſion. They therefore determined to lay it aſide, and revert to the ancient method of electing their magiſtrates by imborſation.

So much had Coſmo loſt his popularity, that he was reduced to the dilemma of throwing off the maſk, by declaring himſelf the ſovereign of the ſtate, or of yielding to the cry of his enemies in reſtoring the old manner of chuſing the officers of the republic. The former was fraught with too many dangers, and the idea of liberty was too precious to be openly and avowedly violated. To qua-



Digitized by Google

lify the latter, and break its force, he had addreſs enough to privately procure ſuch names to be delivered in that he could depend upon; ſo that in the end he governed in a more abſolute manner than before, and that too with the utmoſt ſafety.

The jealouſy of the people by this means was huſhed, their minds ſtilled; but this only made it rage with greater violence in the breaſts of the nobility, who, with mingled ſurpriſe and indignation perceived they had now loſt what little ſhare they had before poſſeſſed in the government. The party which Capponi had headed found themſelves in the ſame ſituation, and conſequently were equally, or perhaps more mortified, becauſe they had received a larger proportion of the magiſtracy: Both were treated with every degree of neglect and contempt by thoſe who ſeemed to be of their own advancing.

Coſmo, to render his enemies ſtill more obnoxious, omitted no opportunity of obliging the plebeians. Every thing that was propoſed

Digitized by Google

propoſed for their advantage, was ſtrenuouſly recommended by him to the magiſtrates; and he took every occaſion to procure them ſtill greater privileges than they had ever before enjoyed: but what gave them the greateſt pleaſure, and moſt ſeverely mortified the nobles, was, his renewing a tax called Cataſto, which Giovanni had procured in 1427; becauſe it effectually convinced the grandees, that the republic was intirely at his diſpoſal. They were more hurt to be the ſlaves of the plebeians, than to ſtoop to a citizen, who had all the importance of a real ſovereign.

Coſmo now governed with a ſerenity he had never known; the misfortunes his enemies had endeavoured to bring upon him, procured his preſent ſtability; and it was no ſmall triumph to him to obſerve the mortification the nobility endured, who, repenting of their ill projected plan of oppoſition, came and beſought him to re-aſſume that authority that the balia had given him, and take away thoſe from the government that tyrannized over them.



Digitized by Google

Satisfied with his own power he wisely told them, that he would not use the least violence. Unwilling to exasperate them too much, he promised not to oppose the restoration of the balia, if they could legally, and without force prevail upon the council to appoint one; but either the people were too proud of their privilege, or Cosmo secretly opposed what he durst not openly refuse, for the nobles found their petition rejected.

To a second application to Cosmo, they had a like answer; which so exasperated them, that they were resolved to obtain a redress, if possible, without his concurrence. At length they prevailed upon Donati Cocchi, the gonfalonier, to espouse their cause. Aware how much his credit depended upon their not gaining the point in defiance of him, Cosmo left nothing undone to prevent the nobles accomplishing their design. For this purpose the people were alarmed by the cry of liberty being in danger; money, in profusion, was given to some, and the rest were fed with promises; the

Digitized by Google

the magiſtrates alſo by various means were gained over, ſo that the attempt failed, it being rejected with the moſt ineffable ſcorn. The mortification had ſo ſenſible an effect upon Cocchi, that it deprived him of his reaſon, which he never afterwards recovered.

How myſterious are the arcana of politics! Not long after this, Coſmo, who feared that the people might at laſt ſpurn the power that they had raiſed, and finding the nobles ſufficiently humbled, determined to aboliſh what he had taken ſo much pains to ſupport. To ward off the odium, however, of the action, he raiſed Lucca Pitti, a creature of his own, to conſiderable conſequence, and procured for him the office of gonfalonier. Pitti was of a family of conſiderable conſequence in the middle claſs of citizens. He was a man of reſolution, fit for the taſk impoſed upon him.

The buſineſs was not effected without the utmoſt reluctance being ſhewn by the people: Pitti in vain urged it; but perceiving

Digitized by Google

ceiving that more ſevere methods were requiſite, he loaded the council with the moſt opprobrious epithets and menaces, and then conveyed ſoldiers into the Palazzo, after which he ſummoned the people upon the eve of St. Lorenzo's feſtival, and compelled them to change the form of government.

Coſmo found it dangerous to divide his power with Pitti, who, elate with pride, ſoon forgot all gratitude, openly headed a party againſt him, and obtained ſuch conſequence in the republic, that he became for a ſhort time a rival that was to be feared; but his pride, inſolence, and oppreſſion, aided by his vanity, ruined his intereſt, and relieved Coſmo from all apprehenſion of ſerious conſequences. This child of fortune aimed at exceeding monarchs in magnificence; with the bribes and other iniquitous ſums that he exacted from the Florentines, he erected a palace that remains to be the wonder of both natives and foreigners, and which has long been the reſidence of the ſovereigns of Tuſcany.

Perhaps

Digitized by Google

Perhaps Coſmo rejoiced in the conduct of Pitti, as defeating his own deſigns; had he ſaved inſtead of ſquandered, he might have contended with what was the Medicean's beſt weapon, money; had he bribed the poor with the money he extorted from the wealthy, he had perhaps carried away the love of the people from Coſmo, and transferred it to himſelf. As it was, time would rectify the evil; a falſe grandeur, and extravagant profuſion would bring Pitti to the ſame level from which he had been taken. It muſt, however, have been no ſmall mortification to Coſmo to ſee himſelf rivalled, and, as it were, eclipſed by the man whom he had raiſed to conſequence.

The great age, decrepitude, derangement in his commercial concerns, the loſs of an eldeſt and beloved ſon, and the inattention of the others to buſineſs, all conſpired to make the evening of Coſmo's days overclouded. The perfidy of Sforza, who, from an adventurer became duke of Milan, one of the richeſt ſovereignties in Italy, and this

Digitized by Google

this chiefly by the ſupport he received from him, ſunk deep into his mind; for Coſmo had once taken a journey to Venice, on purpoſe to prevail upon their ſenate to elect him the generaliſſimo of that republic, but, contrary to the moſt ſolemn promiſes, he refuſed to aſſiſt Coſmo in adding Lucca to the dominions of Florence, which had ever been the earneſt wiſh of his heart.

Coſmo, under all theſe diſadvantages of body and mind, had the addreſs, in 1464, to regain the entire command of Florence, and retained it until his death, which happened the following year. The ſame ſerenity that had accompanied him through life did not forſake him, and he enjoyed his chearful pleaſantry to the laſt. His wife aſked him a little before he expired, why he kept his eyes cloſed; he anſwered, "To accuſtom "them to it."

His remains, attended by the whole city, were conveyed to the church of St. Lorenzo, where they were depoſited, ſurrounded by the lamenting Florentines; who

Digitized by Google

who engraved upon the front of his monument:

Cosmo Medecis situs est decreto publico Pater Patriæ.

By Conteſtina Barda, the daughter of a citizen of Florence, he had three ſons. 1ſt. Giovanni, who married Cornelia, or Genevra, daughter of Nicolo Aleſſandri, by whom he had no child. He left three natural ſons, Coſmo, Franceſco, and Giovanni. The moſt flattering expectations were formed of this his eldeſt ſon, whoſe death he deplored without ceaſing; he would ſigh when his attendants were carrying him through the apartments of his houſe, and ſay, "Alas! This is too large a dwelling for ſo ſmall a family." 2d. Pietro, whoſe life will be the ſubject of the next chapter. 3d. Carlo, who became a prebend of Prato.

After ſo ample a diſplay of Coſmo's actions, it would be impertinent to dwell long upon his character: the ſighs of his countrymen, and the condolence that every potentate

Digitized by Google

tentate and ſtate in Europe paid to his ſons for his loſs, form his greateſt eulogium.

In the former part of his life he was violent and raſh, as appears by his advice to his father; the riſk he run when he was obliged to eſcape from the council of Conſtance in diſguiſe after the depoſition of his friend, the quondam pope, John XXIII. whom he had accompanied thither; and his impolitic behaviour immediately after Giovanni's death. He amply, however, compenſated for theſe ſallies of youth, by the prudence, coolneſs, and deliberation of all his actions after his return from baniſhment, and the vigour and activity with which he put them in execution, particularly thoſe relative to the wars he embarked in, which was the more extraordinary, as he was unacquainted with the profeſſion of arms.

The clearneſs and eaſe with which he guided the helm of ſo fickle and jealous a ſtate as Florence, at the ſame time that he carried on his commercial concerns to an height that has never been equalled by any individual,

Digitized by Google

individual, raiſes our admiration; and this is augmented by reflecting, that he acquired ſuch an accurate knowledge of the intereſt and views of every ſtate, that in the courſe of his long adminiſtration, he was never miſtaken, except in one inſtance, and that by the crafty and perfidious Sforza.

Coſmo's greateſt admirers will find it difficult to clear him from harbouring a criminal ambition; he indeed aſſumed no pre-eminence of rank; but let it be remarked that the title of prince would have been equally dangerous to him, as that of king had proved to Cæſar. The death of Balduccio, and his ſeverity to the Albizi party, will always remain blemiſhes to his memory which no time can eraſe.

The only juſtification that can be offered for his erecting a power ſuperior to the laws, is, that in republics there are times when popularity and riches, though procured by the moſt honourable means, are looked upon as crimes, and leave to the poſſeſſor no other alternative than the ruin of himſelf and his friends, or the ſubverſion of the public liberty.



Digitized by Google

Coſmo learned of Sylla to love his friends and hurl vengeance upon his enemies, and of Cæſar to ruin the liberty of his country by bribing the degenerate citizens. Cæſar obtained the means of doing it by depopulating whole provinces, and plundering kingdoms; Coſmo, by a laudable induſtry and frugality: happy and glorious had it been for the Florentine, if he had copied the generoſity and greatneſs of ſoul of the latter, inſtead of the inhuman revenge of the former. Cæſar was born to be a great prince, Coſmo the head of a faction.

He was ſplendid and munificent in the ſtructures he raiſed: he built five princely houſes, one within, and four without, the city, four monaſteries, two churches, and ſeveral chapels within the republic.

As the patron of learning in an ignorant age, when it was ſcarcely known and leſs eſteemed, he deſerves our particular regard; and his medals do honour to our cabinets, for ſome at that early period, or ſoon after, were ſtruck commemorative of him.

In

Digitized by Google

In the ſecond volume of the Muſeum Muzzucheo are two medals of Coſmo; one exhibits his profile to the left with a cap, inſcribed "Magnus Coſmus Medices, "P. P. P." Upon the reverſe are three rings interlinked, with each a ſtone in them; the motto is, "Semper." The ſecond gives his buſt ſmaller, turned to the right; upon this ſide it bears the ſame inſcription; the reverſe has a figure ſeated upon a globe, an orb in one hand and a branch in the other; the legend is, "Pax "libertaſque publica:" Under the figure is the word "Florentia." That engraved in Lord Pembroke's plates gives him as the laſt; the legend in this is, "Coſmus Medices "decret. public." Under the buſto is "O. P. P." The reverſe the ſame as that laſt deſcribed.

I ſhall cloſe Coſmo's life with obſerving, that he was no bigot in religion. He often expreſſed his gratitude to Providence for the ſingular bleſſings he enjoyed; erected ſacred ſtructures in Florence, and built



Digitized by Google

churches in Jeruſalem and other parts of Paleſtine; and yet he owned that he ought to have raiſed more altars to his praiſe. He frequently retired from the world, and ſought meditation in a cell of monks, with whoſe company he was greatly pleaſed. It is difficult to judge from his conduct, whether his piety was real, or affected. He had better have ſaved one family from deſtruction, than have built two churches.

CHAPTER

Digitized by Google

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE LIFE OF PIETRO, THE UNPOPULAR.

PIETRO's life does not abound with the intereſting circumſtances that marked that of his father. He ſeemed calculated rather to ſubvert than to eſtabliſh the Medicean power. From the fifteenth year of his age he had languiſhed under that painful diſorder the gout, which prevented his making that proficiency in his ſtudies, that the care of his parent ſeemed to demand. His tutor, the great Poggio, humbled himſelf ſo much, as to compoſe little eſſays for his inſtruction. His illneſs alſo hindered him from obtaining that inſight into the affairs of ſtate that was requiſite, particularly after the death of his eldeſt brother, Giovanni. The length and ſeverity of his complaint alſo tended to ſour his diſpoſition, and prevented his going out and mixing with the citizens, to pro-



Digitized by Google

cure friends, discover the different inclinations and characters of the Florentines, and become acquainted with the whole community; all which are essentially necessary in those who are to guide the helm of a popular government.

His father, to initiate him into the art of government, had procured him the office of gonfalonier in the year 1460; and the better to secure his son's power after his own death, left him in close alliance with the king of Naples, and the duke of Milan. To secure him at home, he recommended to him Diotisalvo Neroni, a man intirely raised by his patronage to an eminent rank, cautioning him to do nothing without his concurrence, and requesting him to put all his domestic or commercial concerns in his hands.

Pietro, in conformity to the dying injunctions of his parent, intrusted the whole of his affairs into Neroni's hands, and gave him Cosmo's accounts to peruse and settle. That ambition, which perhaps had lain lurking

Digitized by Google

lurking in this man's mind, was now called forth, and he baſely formed the ſcheme of ruining the ſon of his patron, by building upon his misfortunes his future grandeur. For this purpoſe, he lamented the abſolute neceſſity there was for an immediate call upon thoſe who were indebted to Pietro, as Coſmo's repreſentative, telling him that a delay might ſubject him to the greateſt inconveniences. Pietro conſented, though with reluctance, to his ſuppoſed friend's advice.

The ſums owing to Pietro were immenſe, all Florence were his debtors; the payment of them immediately filled his coffers, but it loſt him the hearts of the people, and entirely deſtroyed the intention of Coſmo, who had depoſited theſe ſums in the hands of the citizens to make them from neceſſity the friends of the Medici. This was not unknown to Neroni; but he flattered himſelf that by ruining his employer he ſhould become the head of the republic.

The Florentines, as might be imagined,



Digitized by Google

immediately drew a parallel between the father and the ſon, much to the diſadvantage of the latter. Of this Lucca Pitti, who ſtill retained, or rather regained, very conſiderable power, took advantage. Agnola Acciavola, and Nicolò Soderino, two citizens of very extenſive intereſt, joined Pitti, but for very oppoſite motives; the one from private *, the other from patriotic reaſons. Each however profeſſed their attachment to the perſon of Pietro, but averred that the Medicean power was incompatible with public liberty, and for that reaſon urged the neceſſity of reſtoring the magiſtrates.

Pietro, far from averting danger by conciliating the minds of his countrymen, irritated the citizens ſtill more by affiancing his eldeſt ſon, Lorenzo, to Clarice, of the noble houſe of Orſini. This was tacitly

* Acciavola's hatred to the Medici was occaſioned by an award that Coſmo had made in favour of Aleſandra, the wife of his ſon Raphael; decreeing that ſhe ſhould again be at her own diſpoſal, and enjoy the fortune ſhe had brought.

acknow-

Digitized by Google

acknowledging that he thought his family too great to ally itſelf to any in Florence, a circumſtance which Coſmo had carefully avoided. Alarmed however at the murmurs of the people, he endeavoured to regain their friendſhip, and quiet their fears; to effect this, he exhibited moſt pompous and ſplendid pageantries, which, according to that age, were a mixture of religion and war, conſiſting of a ſacred play, intituled, The Three Kings of the Eaſt diſcovering the Divine Child. At the concluſion of this a tournament was held.

The graceful bridegroom, Lorenzo, more diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his addreſs and gallantry than any of thoſe who attended. Florence, the richeſt city then in Italy, ſpent five months in making preparations for exhibiting theſe ſhows.

Pietro did not truſt alone to theſe ſplendid ſhows to avoid the ſtorm, for he entered into a confederacy with other ſtates to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt the ambition of Venice, which he knew was no friend to his perſon,



Digitized by Google

and would be ready to aſſiſt in deſtroying his power.

This prudence deferred, but did not prevent the enemies of his houſe from purſuing their ſchemes. Not content to wait until the expiration of the balia, which was near, as the moſt moderate deſired, they entered into aſſociations with a determined intent to drive him from the Florentine dominions. Their oppoſing the continuance of the ſubſidy to Galeazo, the young duke of Milan, gave him an alarm, and aſſured him that the combination was powerful and dangerous. He was, however, much ſurpriſed to find his enemies ſo numerous, when Nicolo Fidino, the ſecretary of the confederacy, ſhewed him the names of the conſpirators, and of which, by a bribe, Pietro obtained a copy.

Inſtead of coming to extremities, or even divulging the ſecret, he prudently propoſed, and procured a counter aſſociation; and when many names of the principal perſons in Florence were procured, it was ſhewn to thoſe

Digitized by Google

thoſe who had ſigned the other, many of whom, actuated by various motives, added theirs.

He carried his prudence ſtill farther in not oppoſing the election of Nicolo Soderino to the gonfalonierſhip, and whom the citizens crowned with an olive garland, to remind him that they expected him to reſtore the ancient government. But though Soderino was a man of confeſſed reſolution, the term of his magiſtracy expired without any alteration; an event very pleaſing to Pietro, whoſe enemies, in deſpair of obtaining their wiſhes in a legal way, reſolved to aſſaſſinate him.

His confinement in bed at Corregio ſeemed to give them a favourable opportunity to accompliſh, what they durſt not openly attempt. They meditated to call in the duke of Ferrara to ſupport them with his army in re-eſtabliſhing the ancient freedom. Neroni, who ought to have watched over and guarded him with a parent's care, was foremoſt in this ſhocking conſpiracy;



Digitized by Google

conſpiracy; for he, whom Coſmo had left to protect, was the firſt to promiſe his aſſiſtance in taking him off by violence.

Many of Pietro's friends ſerved him with ſingular fidelity, and obtaining exact information of what was deſigned, turned the ſtratagem they had planned againſt the conſpirators; for as the duke of Ferrara had actually raiſed his forces to ſecond them, Pietro gave out that this prince was marching with an army to lay ſiege to Florence, which gave him an opportunity of ſummoning his friends, and of collecting a body of troops to defend the city. No ſooner had theſe armed men entered Florence, than the real cauſe of ſo hoſtile an appearance was explained to the people.

The enemies of the Medici made a feeble defence; ſurpriſe and amazement confounded them; and Diotiſalvi, alarmed at the merited fate that awaited him, vainly endeavoured to perſuade both the ſenate and Pitti to oblige Pietro to lay down his arms. Soderini headed the citizens in his diviſion, and

Digitized by Google

and applied to Pitti for assistance, but the latter had been most seasonably secured by a bribe, and insisted upon Soderini's immediately retiring to his house, and leaving the decision to the senate.

Soderini, who acted upon the purest principles, was not so easily intimidated; he insisted, in a most peremptory manner, that Pietro should justify himself and his conduct, or receive the punishment of having conspired to overturn the liberty of his country.

The Medici explained to the people that they had brought in an armed force to protect them from their enemies, and protested that they acted only defensively, declaring, that they only wished to live as became the subjects of a republic, and in a proper subjection to the laws of Florence, subjoining, that how much reason soever they might have to complain of the suspicion and ingratitude of their open enemies, they had still more of their secret ones; instancing particularly the treachery and baseness of Diotisalvi, and some others.

The

Digitized by Google

The people, who had ſo often experienced the bounty of Medici, grew enraged, declared for Pietro, and were with difficulty reſtrained from inſtantly ſacrificing the moſt perfidious of the conſpirators. Soderini, and a few others, prudently retired from Florence, not chuſing to rely upon an enemy's generoſity.

Soon after their departure, the real motives of Pietro's conduct were diſcovered; for when Leoni, in 1464, ſucceeded Lotti in the gonfalonierſhip, having aſſembled the people, he created a new balia and magiſtracy, compoſed of the friends of his family, and conſequently reſtored again the Medicean intereſt at the expence of the laws.

This was no ſooner done, than thoſe who had oppoſed Pietro ſtrove who ſhould leave Florence ſooneſt. Forgetting all moderation, Pietro declared them rebels; nor did he treat thoſe who remained much better, for they ſuffered every degree of contempt and ſcorn, and no one more than Pitti, who experienced leſs commiſeration than any other.

To

Digitized by Google

To Pietro's conduct, alike unjuſt and impolitic, was added the impious mockery of the Deity, by returning a ſolemn thankſgiving for the violences he had been enabled to perpetrate. This time had been better employed in making preparations for defending himſelf againſt the refugees who filled Venice, Rome, and Naples, and being aſſiſted by the former, broke into the Florentine dominions, and threatened to drive him and his family thence in diſgrace and ruin. He was not in a capacity to have oppoſed this force, nor was there ſufficient in the public treaſury to have raiſed and paid an army, or to ſatisfy the terms under which his allies would aſſiſt him, ſo that had he not dexterouſly negotiated a peace, his deſtruction ſeemed inevitable.

Without acquiring wiſdom by experience, Pietro ſtill continued adding inſult to injuſtice, forgetting that he was but an individual member of the republic. By adopting a ſeverity that nothing could excuſe, he loſt the hearts of many of his friends, and weakened

Digitized by Google

ened the affections of all. The conduct of thoſe, who, on account of his ill health, were neceſſarily intruſted with the care of the government, was infinitely worſe than his own. They proſtituted his name and authority to the vileſt purpoſes; diſplacing all whom they diſliked from every poſt of truſt, baniſhing others, and treating the moderate, generally the moſt worthy, as rebels. The gonfalonier, Bardo Altoviti, particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in theſe proceedings.

Pietro at length heard of the practices of theſe perſons, who pretended to act by his deſire. Severe as he had been, yet he revolted at the ſhocking relation; he therefore urged them in the moſt pathetic manner to change their conduct; convinced of his own impolicy, and the folly of having delegated his power to men who knew not how to uſe it.

The marriage which he had contracted for his ſon, Lorenzo, he choſe to have conſummated, omitting nothing that magnificence could contribute, or art or riches could beſtow,

Digitized by Google

beſtow, to divert the attention of the public: theſe diverſions continued ſome days; but no ſooner were they finiſhed, than new complaints were raiſed againſt thoſe to whom he had intruſted the power of the republic.

This hurt him the more, becauſe he had relied upon their ſolemn promiſe of amendment. Their conduct had ſo ſenſible an effect upon his mind, that he began really to lament having baniſhed the oppoſers of his deſigns, and ſuffered the conſtitution of his country to be changed; and he expreſſed theſe his ſentiments to Acciavola, whom he had before treated with the utmoſt contempt and illiberality.

His intentions of reſtoring the exiles, and allowing them the rights of citizens, were defeated by death. The excruciating pains he had ſo long ſuffered, had enfeebled him to that degree, that he became unable to bear the apprehenſions and anxieties that tortured him. He ſunk under them in 1472, when he had lived fifty-two, and ſurvived his father eight years. His remains

mains were depoſited near thoſe of Coſmo, with great funereal pomp.

By Lucretia, daughter of Franciſco Turnabuona, he had two ſons and three daughters. 1ſt. Lorenzo. 2d. Julian, born October 25th, 1453, killed in 1478. 3d. Maria, married to Lionello de Roſſi, 4th. Nannina, to Barnardo Ruccellai; and 5th. Blanca, to Giuliano Pazzi.

It is ſurpriſing that a private ſubject, confined to his chamber for years, ſhould govern a republic ſo tenacious of liberty as that of Florence, without even a ſhadow of right, without poſſeſſing any of thoſe winning accompliſhments that ſometimes beguile a credulous people of their privileges, and which had he acquired them could have been known only to a few. His power was ſtill more wonderful, as it was eſtabliſhed without liberality, and without blood, and when the government was unfortunate abroad, and extremely oppreſſive at home. His behaviour to his opponents can be excuſed only by his laſt intentions: in the former



Digitized by Google

inſtance we may applaud his courage, in the latter we muſt praiſe his magnanimity. His fortune ſurpriſes, but his character cannot pleaſe. He overwhelmed many without enriching his country, or his friends. He was unfortunate in his health, but ſtill more in the choice he made of thoſe whom he deputed to govern under him. Probably had he lived much longer, or been ſucceeded by one, as little calculated to rule the Florentines, the Medici would have been totally ruined, and their name been handed down to poſterity with abhorrence.



Digitized by Google

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE LIFE OF LORENZO, THE MAGNIFICENT.

THE life of Pietro exemplified the miſery attending a popular government, particularly in its decline, when ſuperior merit or great riches become dangerous to the poſſeſſor; for in that ſituation he muſt either uſurp the ſupreme power, or ſubmit to certain deſtruction. Lorenzo's hiſtory will evince how much perſonal accompliſhments, attended with prudence and courage, avail in ſuch a government. This extraordinary perſon when he entered upon the government of Florence, had, both from his father's unpopularity, and his own youth, every diſadvantage to contend with.

It could not be ſuppoſed that this republic, accuſtomed to be guided by ſage counſellors, remarkably tenacious of liberty,



Digitized by Google

ſhould be prevailed upon to acknowledge a young man as her head and repreſentative. It might rather have been expected that Florence would have rejoiced in the ruin of a family, which had ſo often endangered even the republican form. Such, at the time of Pietro's death, were the thoughts of moſt of her citizens, and of foreign ſtates.

All human events are uncertain: an irreſiſtible harangue delivered by Lorenzo, the moſt captivating orator of that period, obtained from the whole city a promiſe of protection, even of obedience. He and his brother were recognized as the heads of the government. Soderini, who had ever oppoſed the Medici, was ſo won by their conduct, that inſtead of declaiming againſt, he exhorted the people to ſupport them in their eſtates and honours.

Gratitude united with policy, in the promiſes the brothers gave to deſerve the favours they received, and to be guided by the moſt experienced perſons in the commonwealth. For ſome time this was ſtrictly



Digitized by Google

adhered to; but Lorenzo, on whom as eldeſt the chief management of the ſtate devolved, overcome with youthful ambition, threw aſide the reſtraint he had impoſed upon himſelf; but as the war which he had began was ſucceſsful, and Volterra added to the republic, his conduct was excuſed, though not applauded, by the generality of the citizens. A ſecret party, however, lay lurking in private to overwhelm him and his family with a ſudden deſtruction; but which they knew it would be impoſſible to compaſs without great aſſiſtance from without.

This conſpiracy was owing to the honours, riches, and grandeur which the Medici enjoyed, drawing upon them the envy and hatred of the rival families in Florence, and of the ſeveral princes and ſtates that ſurrounded the republic; theſe combined to involve the name and family of Medici in one common ruin. The enterpriſing and ambitious pope, Sixtus IV. took the lead in this plot; his holineſs was induced

Digitized by Google

duced to do this, becauſe Lorenzo had prevented the lords of Fruila and Imola from falling a ſacrifice to the aggrandizement of the pontiff's family, and had aſſiſted his friend Nicoli Vitelli, whom Sixtus was then beſieging in Citti di Caſtello. This enmity was increaſed by Lorenzo's refuſing to receive Franciſco Salviatti, as archbiſhop of Piſa, who had ſucceeded Philippo de Medici, becauſe he was the profeſſed enemy of the Medici.

Sixtus would not have borne theſe affronts with temper from the firſt and moſt powerful prince in Europe; judge then what muſt have been his rage at receiving them from Lorenzo! He determined upon a revenge at once ſecret and effectual: under different pretences he diſpatched cardinal Cibo *, a man of the greateſt addreſs, to invite ſeveral of the Italian powers to form a

* Cibo was equally diſtinguiſhed for his abilities and vices, which made him ſo dreaded, that the duke of Milan afterwards poiſoned him, as he paſſed through Lombardy.



Digitized by Google

league againſt the Medici.—He did more, he engaged the Pazzi, a family nearly allied *, and only inferior to the Medici, to aſſiſt him in their deſtruction. The king of Naples acceded to the ſcheme; the pope's general, Monteſeco, with Riario, his grand nephew, and the archbiſhop Salviatti, were ſent to, and admitted by the unſuſpecting Lorenzo into Florence. The two former of whom he treated with friendſhip and confidence; yet ſo incapable were they of honour, generoſity, or gratitude, that this only conduced to make them take a more certain aim, and plan the tragedy with greater proſpect of ſucceſs with Salviatti and the Pazzi, and who ſoon won over the malcontents in Florence to act with them.

The aſſaſſination of the illuſtrious youths was fixed for Sunday, April 26, 1478; the place the cathedral of Florence, and at the

* Coſmo had always courted the friendſhip of the Pazzi, to obtain which he had given Bianca, his niece, to William, the heir of that houſe. Lorenzo, on the contrary, had treated them in the moſt contemptuous manner.

moment

Digitized by Google

moment the hoſt was to be elevated; and their murder was to be the ſignal for ſeizing and expelling from the walls of the city all their relations and friends.—What a tranſaction this for one who preſumed to ſtile himſelf the vicar of Chriſt, the common father of Chriſtendom, to patronize!

The fatal day arrived, and Lorenzo was already in the church, but Julian remained at home, occaſioned by a ſlight indiſpoſition. The conſpirators determining not to loſe one of their victims, went to invite, to intreat him to go. They embraced *, and led him by a tender violence to the cathedral. The ſignal was given by the elevation of the conſecrated wafer, and whilſt the people fell upon their knees to adore, the aſſaſſins roſe, and, as was concerted, two of them, Franciſco Pazzi and Barnardo Bandini, fell upon Julian: the latter directed his poignard ſo truly, that it entered into the

* The aſſaſſins embraced Julian, to diſcover whether he wore any ſecret armour, that they might know where to ſtrike with the ſureſt aim.



Digitized by Google

boſom of the unoffending youth, and he fell mortally wounded at his feet.

In a moment, as muſt be ſuppoſed, all was confuſion. Lorenzo, alarmed, put himſelf in a poſture of defence, when, in an inſtant, Antonio of Volterra, and Stephano, a prieſt, the dependant of the archbiſhop, who, upon Giovanni Battiſti's declining the infamous taſk, undertook his deſtruction, ruſhed upon him as their deſtined prey. The conteſt continued ſome time; Lorenzo had received ſeveral dangerous wounds, and ſeemed to contend for his life in vain, but a ſervant whom he had lately relieved from priſon, inſpired by gratitude, heroically threw himſelf between his beloved lord and his aſſaſſins, receiving in his body thoſe weapons that were aimed at the breaſt of Lorenzo. This fidelity ſaved him, for by one vigorous effort he broke from Antonio and Stephano, and with a few friends gained a tribune, which they ſecured by cloſing the elegant door, formed of wrought copper, the gift of his grandfather.

The

Digitized by Google

The rage of the people to ſee one of their favourites expiring, and the other covered with blood was inexpreſſible. The cardinal, Riario, found it difficult to ſave his life at that altar which he had ſtained by ſo horrid a deed, and to which he then fled for protection.

Whilſt this infamous ſcene was acting in the cathedral, others of the conſpirators were attempting to ſeize the Palazzo, but with no better ſucceſs. The archbiſhop Salviatti, who had undertaken to head them, gave the magiſtrates ſuſpicion by thoſe violent emotions which agitated his whole frame. The nine ſenators who compoſed the magiſtracy, including the gonfalonier, who had been appointed by, and were in other words, the privy council of the Medici, immediately attacked thoſe who intended to have ſurpriſed them, and Salviatti and his followers had no ſooner gained the ſecond floor, than they found themſelves priſoners.

Jacobo Pazzi ſoon appeared in the ſtreet, proclaiming,

Digitized by Google

proclaiming, with exultation, the murder of Julian; and inviting the Florentines to free themſelves from the Medicean ſlavery; but perceiving that he was not joined by the people, the magiſtrates ſent off an hundred horſe to the reſcue of Lorenzo. This was the more to be commended, becauſe they continued to be aſſaulted by the conſpirators, who finding their ſituation deſperate, forced themſelves to the ground floor, determining, if poſſible, to ſeize the Palazzo. The magiſtrates, with their attendants, acted with ſuch reſolution and valour, that as often as they gained an entrance they drove them back, killing ſome of the aſſailants upon the ſpot, others they threw out of the windows upon the pavement, and to ſtrike an awe into thoſe that were without, they had the boldneſs and virtue to hang the archbiſhop from one of the windows, dreſſed as he was, in his pontifical robes, with Poggio, another of the chief conſpirators. Florence reſounded in every part with the exclamation—Medici, Medici! down with their enemies!

Lorenzo

Digitized by Google

Lorenzo was liberated from that part of the cathedral to which he had fled, and conveyed home in triumph, where his wounds were attended to, and where he found himſelf ſurrounded by his moſt valuable friends, to whom he was endeared by the ſhocking occurrences of the day. His partizans, however, did not ſpend their time only in lamentations for the death of one of the brothers, and exultations for the preſervation of the other. They united in purſuing the conſpirators, ſparing none that fell into their hands. Jacobo Pazzi was taken flying with his forces into Romania, and immediately hung: an officer of the pope's, who commanded a brigade under count Hirronimo, had alone the favour of decapitation.

Bandino fled privately to Piſa, thence to Naples, and laſtly to Conſtantinople; but Bajazet, the grand ſultan, to oblige Lorenzo, ſeized, and ſent him back, and he was hung out of the ſame window from which the archbiſhop had ſuffered.

The

Digitized by Google

The conſpiracy alſo recoiled upon the Pazzi, for of the ſeven brothers, Gulielmo, Franceſco, Renatio, Giovanni, Andrea, Nicola, and Galeotto; Franceſco and Renatio were put to death with their uncle Jacobo; the others were impriſoned for ſome time, but releaſed by the peace concluded between Ferdinando, king of Naples, and the republic; it being an article inſiſted upon by the former. Jacobo, the uncle, and Franceſco, the banker at Rome, alſo a principal in the plot, died deſervedly, but the fate of Renatio claims the greateſt commiſeration, becauſe he was innocent.

If we view the various circumſtances of this tranſaction, the time, the place, the ſacred character, and relationſhip of the principal conſpirators, what a degree of horror and abhorrence does it excite! No occurrence in hiſtory exceeds it in atrocity.

The Florentines, happy in the miſcarriage of the plot, preſſed with eagerneſs to Lorenzo's palace, each deſirous of being convinced of his ſafety, perſonally aſſuring him of

Digitized by Google

of their attachment, and of offering and pledging their lives and fortunes for the protection of him and his family. They next attended, in mournful magnificence, the remains of the unfortunate, the amiable Julian, to the repoſitory of his anceſtors, which awakened their regret for the loſs of the deceaſed, whoſe virtues they dwelt upon with rapture. They remembered the many and frequent applications he had made to Lorenzo in favour of thoſe very Pazzi who had thus doomed their relation, friend, and benefactor to a premature grave. Julian left a natural poſthumous ſon, whoſe life, under the name of pope Clement VII. will be given in a future chapter.

Lorenzo aſſembled the people, and with an eloquence that could not be ſurpaſſed, recited the late dreadful ſcene, telling them, "where others found protection, the Me-"dici met their murderers." He ſet before them the merits of his anceſtors, and their ſervices to the ſtate, aſſuring them of his beſt wiſhes for their proſperity, and requeſted

Digitized by Google

queſted for himſelf their protection and ſupport. Such was their ſenſe of the injuries he had received, and ſo warm were they in expreſſing their regard for his ſafety, that they inſtantly voted him a guard at the public expence.

The pope and the king of Naples, far from being aſhamed of what all Europe beheld with deteſtation, withdrew their troops, finding Lorenzo prepared to withſtand them; but profeſſed, that it was only to recruit them, that they might the more effectually accompliſh what they had ſo impiouſly attempted.

Lorenzo, aware that Sixtus, who had thrown off all decency, would fulminate his interdicts againſt the ſtate, when his manifeſto againſt himſelf was of no avail, by his prudence rendered the thunders of the Vatican of no effect, by perſuading the clergy, juſtly aſhamed of their head, to perform all the offices of religion.

He had, however, more ſubſtantial weapons to ward off; Venice joined the confederacy,

Digitized by Google

deracy, desirous of ruining him, and humbling Florence. Such a combination was too powerful to withstand. The armies of the republic were defeated, her resources nearly exhausted, and the people, who had so warmly entered into the war, according to their usual instability, finding it unprosperous, began to murmur, complaining that the quarrel was personal, was Lorenzo's, not theirs. He did not despair, and fortune, who may properly be called his handmaid, attended him most opportunely.

France had been insulted by Sixtus, and to revenge herself sent Lorenzo auxiliary troops. This most seasonable supply procured a repeal of the interdict, and a truce for three months. Taking advantage of these fortunate circumstances, he, with a resolution not to be equalled, having left the government of Florence to his friend Soderino, and without the least intimation being given to any other, threw himself into the hands of the king of Naples. He judged, perhaps, that any stipulations for his

Digitized by Google

his perſonal ſafety, would be uſeleſs with a prince who had ſported with honour, juſtice, mercy, and the moſt ſolemn treaties. But, whilſt all viewed him as a victim, who had devoted himſelf to ſave his country, he, by perſuaſive eloquence, obtained of this crafty perfidious monarch a ſeparate peace, and returned to Florence crowned with a ſucceſs that no one thought poſſible, and where he was received as its titular deity.

An event happened that he could not foreſee; the duke of Calabria, the heir apparent, and generaliſſimo of Naples, equally as much a ſtranger to virtue as his father, paid no attention whatever to the treaty, ſtill menacing deſtruction to Florence. Lorenzo, finding that it was impoſſible to prevail with him to withdraw his army, determined to raiſe up an enemy to Naples that ſhould make the duke haſten home with ſpeed; for this purpoſe he privately ſent to and requeſted the ſultan Mahomet IV. to make a deſcent upon the coaſts of

Digitized by Google

of his father's kingdom. This was the more neceſſary, as Florence was ſo reduced that all her neighbours preſumed upon her weakneſs to inſult and injure her; even a private Genoeſe had ſurpriſed the important town of Sarazana.

Mahomet, pleaſed with an opportunity of having his dominions extended to the fineſt country of Europe, and in hopes, by the diviſion of its ſovereigns, to add Italy to his extenſive empire, immediately diſpatched a fleet to the coaſt of Naples; this inſtantly obliged the duke of Calabria to abandon Sienna, to defend his father's territories againſt the infidels.

The pope, no leſs alarmed for his own ſafety, concluded an haſty peace with the republic, in which he only ſtipulated that they ſhould acknowledge themſelves the aggreſſors; and as all the world knew to the contrary, Lorenzo made no great difficulty in ſubmitting to theſe terms.

Venice, whoſe concern in the war was leſs than that of either Rome or Naples,



Digitized by Google

unwilling to ſupport the whole weight of it, alſo agreed to a peace. Not content with this, Lorenzo determined to recover thoſe towns Florence had loſt to Ferdinando, king of Naples. This difficult project he carried, by propoſing to that ſovereign, that in caſe he would ſurrender the places in queſtion, he would aſſiſt him in repelling the Turks, who preſſed upon, and became very formidable. Ferdinando embraced with avidity the terms propoſed.

By this wiſe and politic conduct he recovered all the advantages that the ſtate had enjoyed before the war, and freed Italy from an enemy that was extremely dangerous, and which, when his particular purpoſes were ſerved, it was his intereſt to drive away; and, at the ſame time, it took off from him the odium of having called in the grand enemy of Chriſtendom.

The ſurmounting ſuch complicated misfortunes, raiſed his character to an height that is ſcarcely to be credited. He fortified the city and frontiers, perſonally recovered



Digitized by Google

Sarazana, checked the ambition of Venice by the treaty of Cremona, allied himſelf to Innocent VIII. the ſucceſſor of pope Sixtus, and in the end became the arbiter of Italy.

The adventuring Portugueſe having opened the navigation to the Eaſt by the way of Africa, and Lorenzo diſcovering that many of his mercantile agents defrauded him, he drew large ſums of money from trade, and after having uſed part of it in purchaſing eſtates in the dominions of Florence, he ſtill had remaining far the largeſt ſum of any individual unemployed, with which he aſſiſted many foreign princes and ſtates, with whom he lived in habits of friendſhip.

Amongſt theſe auguſt debtors was our king Edward IV. who, in a great meaſure, owed his crown to him, by the aſſiſtance he received from Lorenzo during the civil war. The faithful de Comines, as the emperor Charles V. juſtly called him, ſays, he learned from his agents that Lorenzo ſupplied his majeſty with one hundred and twenty thouſand ducats at one time, and



Digitized by Google

at another with five hundred thouſand, and a third time eight hundred thouſand. Though ſuch ſums brought in a very great intereſt, yet it was an advantage to the borrower ſcarcely credible, as at that time Europe was poor in ſpecie, and its greateſt monarchs were often diſtreſſed for what would now be called inconſiderable ſums.

Lorenzo employed part of his vaſt wealth in the nobleſt purpoſes, in reviving learning and the fine arts, and in patronizing ſuch as were eminent in each. He founded the univerſity of Florence; placed Michael Angelo at the head of an academy, which he erected for painting and ſculpture, furniſhing it with the beſt models of antiquity. He built and endowed a public library, and ſent Laſcares, of imperial deſcent, to Conſtantinople more than once, to procure Greek manuſcripts. For father Moriano, the orator, a monaſtery was built; and Florence owed many of her fineſt edifices to him. His own acquirements in learning were great: He wrote, Des Poeſies Italiennes,

Digitized by Google

Nennes, Venice, 1554, 12mo. Canzonne à ballo, 1568, 4to. La Compania del Mantellaccio Beoni, including the ſonnets of Burchiello, 1558 or 1568, 8vo.

Is it ſurpriſing, when we examine Lorenzo's character, that all Italy, all Chriſtendom, even the Mahometans, gave him the moſt flattering marks of approbation, and ſtrove who ſhould oblige him moſt, by preſenting him with whatever was rare and valuable? His palace was conſtantly filled with men famous in every elegant, every uſeful ſcience, and the neighbouring princes flocked to it as to the temple of wiſdom. The celebrated prince of Mirandola, on his account choſe Florence for his reſidence, and died there.

To a moſt engaging perſon was added each grace, and every accompliſhment. He was the favourite of the ladies, the envy of the men, and the admiration of both. The ſtateſman of his time; unrivalled in chivalry; one of the moſt eminent orators that the world has produced. His poetic



Digitized by Google

merit, with his judgment in, and patronage of that art, procured him the title of "Fa-"ther of the Muſes."—Yet with all theſe excellent qualifications, he did not think it beneath him to indulge in amuſements, which perſons, leſs wiſe, would have thought an impeachment of their underſtanding, and he would often ſeek pleaſure in his nurſery, ſpending hours there in all the frivolous pranks of childiſh diverſion. In fine, "the "gravity of whoſe life, if compared with "its levity, muſt make him appear as a "compoſition of two different perſons, in-"compatible, and as it were impoſſible "to be joined with the other."

Is it not incredible that various attempts ſhould be made to deſtroy one who ſeemed formed to be the benefactor and refiner of the human race, and that there is a probability that he died by a ſlow deadly poiſon adminiſtered by his eldeſt ſon; who impatiently waited for the poſſeſſion of thoſe honours and riches, which the death of his father alone could give.

Lorenzo,

Digitized by Google

Lorenzo, when he found death approaching, ſent for, and confeſſed to Savanarola *, though the enemy of the Medici, and ended his life in the year 1492, when he had lived no more than forty-three years. He is accuſed of infidelity, but his laſt act ſeemed to deny his dying in ſuch ſentiments; the contemporary popes ſhamed alike religion and decency.

By Claricia, the daughter of Latino Orſini, lord of Lamentina, and afterwards a cardinal, he left three ſons and four daughters. 1ſt. Pietro. 2d. Giovanni, who became pope Leo X. 3d. Julian, duke of Nemours. 4th. Lucretia, married to Jacobo Salviati, a Florentine nobleman. 5th. Maddilena, who was one of the moſt beautiful ladies in the world, ſhe became the wife of Franceſco Cibo, prince of Maſſa,

* Savanarola was a bold man and good politician; he fell a ſacrifice to his honeſty in inveighing againſt the enormous ſins of pope Alexander VI. who publicly burnt him as an heretic. He died with the conſtancy of a primitive martyr. His memory is very dear to the Florentines.



Digitized by Google

of a noble Genoeſe family, and one of the natural ſons of pope Innocent VIII. whom, to leave rich, he forgot his dignity and juſtice. 6th. Conteſtina, married to Pietro Ridolpho, of one of the firſt families in Florence; and 7th, a daughter promiſed to Jacobo de Medici, but who died before the nuptials were ſolemnized. It is obſervable, that four of the ſons of theſe ladies were dignified by their uncle, pope Leo X. with cardinal's hats; they were, Franceſco Cibo, Nicolo Rodolphi, and Giovanni and Barnardo Salviati. Lorenzo's gallantries were numerous; by one lady he had a natural ſon, Giovanni, who married Alioſia, daughter of Giovanni de Medici.

Would not the Roman liberty, in her moſt virtuous æra, have been endangered by a Lorenzo, who, in his liberality to his fellow citizens, as well as in every other reſpect, except as a general, exceeded even Cæſar? Could a ſucceſſion of ſuch men be procured, happy the country that received them for ſovereigns; but exalted characters

ſo

Digitized by Google

ſo ſeldom appear, that they who ſurrender the greateſt bleſſing heaven can beſtow, will, like the Florentines, ſoon repent. In the palace Pitti are a ſuit of rooms painted in freſco by various artiſts, allegorically expreſſing the hiſtory and character of Lorenzo.

CHAPTER

Digitized by Google

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE LIFE OF PIETRO, THE UNFORTUNATE.

PIETRO, who was born in 1471, was in every reſpect a contraſt to his father, and their fortunes ſeemed as diſſimilar. The ſon appeared as anxious to ruin the Medicean grandeur, as the father had been to promote and fix it upon the moſt ſolid baſis. He embroiled himſelf with Lodovico Sforza, the uſurper of Milan; pope Alexander VI. and the Venetians.

He had objected to Sforza's propoſal of congratulating Alexander, in common with all the ſtates of Italy, from a childiſh vanity; becauſe he imagined he could not ſo conſpicuouſly diſplay his magnificence as head of the Florentine embaſſy, with ſo many others, as if ſingly introduced to his holineſs. To theſe ſentiments he won over the king of Naples, which occaſioned the ſuſpicious

Digitized by Google

ſuſpicious Sforza to ſuppoſe they had concluded a dangerous alliance againſt him.

This impolitic young man had enraged the pontiff by betraying his wiſhes to ſeize ſome of the dominions of the church, and he had given umbrage to Venice on another account. But as if all theſe foreign enemies were not ſufficient, he ſeemed to endeavour by every poſſible mean to diſpleaſe the Florentines. The guards given to Lorenzo were employed by him in executing his deſpotic mandates, and he made no ſecret of the private treaty he had ſigned with Naples, by which he was to be eſtabliſhed and ſupported in the abſolute ſovereignty of the ſtate. In fact, he became a perfect tyrant, and rendered himſelf odious on that account, even to his relations, who forſook him; and it was with difficulty that the public liberty was not proclaimed by his expulſion.

Thoſe clouds that ſeemed to gather around, at length burſt upon his head, and overwhelmed him in miſery. Sforza, dreading

Digitized by Google

ing his implacability, invited Charles VIII. king of France, a raſh young prince, to ſeize the kingdom of Naples *, to which he had ſome anceſtorial rights. This was a ſource of the greateſt misfortune to Pietro, becauſe he ſaw that he muſt abandon his beloved treaty with Alphonſo, king of Naples, by which he was to be protected in his wild ſcheme of arbitrary government, or reject the demand of the French king, in permitting him to march through the dominions of the republic.

He choſe to run the hazard of diſpleaſing Charles, whom all Italy feared, rather than deſert Alphonſo, whom all the world had abandoned. Yet when an opportunity offered, to at once free himſelf and Italy from Charles, and by it, ſave his ally, he

* Alphonſo ſucceeded Ferdinando in the kingdom of Naples, and exceeded him in wickedneſs. How cruel was the fate of Italy at that time, to be governed by ſuch monſters as Alphonſo, Alexander VI. Lodovico and Pietro; well might it be expected that an avenger, a puniſher of ſuch tyrants, ſuch diſgraces to human nature, ſhould ariſe.

entirely

Digitized by Google

entirely neglected it. He ſtill more diſpleaſed Sforza, for when the latter, dreading the falſe ſteps he had taken, endeavoured to retrieve his folly by propoſing a defenſive league with Pietro, to prevent the king of France from marching through either of their dominions, which muſt neceſſarily have occaſioned Charles to have laid aſide his expedition into Naples, he neither embraced it, nor treated it with the reſpect it deſerved, but meanly betrayed it to the French ambaſſador, with every mark of contempt for the adviſer.

But to ſhew his own inconſiſtency, he continued to behave towards Charles with his uſual inflexibility, declaring that he never would comply with his wiſhes, in permitting him to march through the Florentine dominions. This ſo provoked the angry monarch, that he baniſhed all Pietro's agents out of his kingdom. The Florentines, inſtead of lamenting, rejoiced in the misfortunes of Pietro, for ſo beſotted had he become with the hope of erecting a

deſpotiſm

Digitized by Google

deſpotiſm in the republic by means of Alphonſo, that he ſtill kept up the fond imagination, even when it ceaſed to be practicable, for Charles had paſſed the Alps, and he was marching towards Florence with the ſame eaſe, as if Italy, as well as France had been his paternal inheritance.

However, as if deſtined ever to act wrong, when Charles had nearly reached the borders of the republic, and by his youthful raſhneſs had reduced his army to ſuch a ſituation as to have been an eaſy prey to the forces Pietro could have ſent againſt him, and which would have hailed him the ſaviour of Italy, he ſent his ſubmiſſion, and ſoon after repaired privately to that monarch's camp. Forgetful of his own dignity, and the conſequence of the ſtate over which he had preſided, he meanly threw himſelf at Charles's feet, and beſought that protection which it had been in his own power to have ſcorned.

Unſolicited he delivered up the ſtrongeſt cities and fortreſſes of the Florentines, and preſented

Digitized by Google

preſented the needy king the ſum of 20,000 florins, yet, though both theſe were acquiſitions of the utmoſt conſequence to Charles, he treated him with the moſt marked contempt. Sforza, who went to the French camp the following day, and ſeeing Pietro, expreſſed his ſurpriſe that they had not met on the road; Pietro replied, "I ſuppoſe I have taken a wrong way:" to which Sforza bitingly rejoined, "One of us has, I believe."

The Florentines, ſhocked at his baſeneſs, and exaſperated at his preſumption in having given up the ſtrength of their territories, ſent a deputation of her firſt citizens to the French king, inviting his majeſty to their city, and beſought him to free them from the vile ſlavery under which they groaned; declaring that they had ever been his friends, and, above all things, wiſhed to have an opportunity of ſhewing it, by entertaining him in their capital, and by aſſiſting his majeſty againſt a king who was equally their enemy, becauſe he was the ally of the Medici.

Pietro,

Digitized by Google

Pietro, having finiſhed his ignoble negociations with Charles, leaving the camp, returned to Florence, under pretence of fulfilling his engagements, and to make the proper regulations for receiving the royal viſitor. Judge his conſternation, when he waited upon the ſenate, to acquaint them of the treaty he had concluded, and that the French monarch was only three miles from the city; they, inſtead of receiving him with reſpect, or thanking him for what he ſeemed to pride himſelf in, gave him the ſharpeſt reproaches. They blamed him for neglecting to agree to terms of accommodation before the king's arrival in Italy, and of his now acting ſtill more ſhamefully by concluding ſo ignominious a peace, without either their conſent, or even their knowledge. Their indignation was raiſed to the higheſt pitch, and they abſolutely refuſed to admit him, unleſs he diſmiſſed his guards; and upon his endeavouring to call forth his friends, they proclaimed him a traitor, and his brothers public enemies.

Thus

Digitized by Google

Thus did Pietro, by his tyranny, folly, and cowardice, loſe all his family honours, and involve both his friends and relations in one common ruin. It was with difficulty he and his brothers eſcaped out of the Florentine dominions. The rage of the people was incredible. They overturned the honourable memorials which had been erected to the Medici, breaking their ſtatues, and tearing away their arms. Nor did their private property eſcape the wreck; their palaces were immediately plundered, the valuables collected with ſo much care were diſperſed, and all Pietro's eſtates were confiſcated.

It would be wrong to omit in ſome meaſure particularizing in what the Medicean valuables conſiſted, as it gives an idea of the taſte of thoſe times. There was the ſuppoſed horn of a unicorn, which was ſo highly prized as to be valued at ſix or ſeven thouſand ducats. This, with two pieces of another, and ſeveral other articles, fell to the lot of the royal plunderer, under pre-



Digitized by Google

tence that Pietro's bank at Lyons was in conſiderable arrears to his majeſty, for ſums advanced from his treaſury.

The Florentine mob ran away with the richeſt furniture, which had been removed to another palace for its greater ſecurity. The ſenate, not to be backward, ſeized part of his richeſt jewels, twenty thouſand ducats in caſh in the bank at Florence, ſeveral fine agate cups, an incredible number of ſeals admirably engraved, three thouſand medals of gold and ſilver, weighing nearly forty pounds; which was more, ſays my author, than all Italy could produce. The whole of theſe loſſes amounted to one hundred thouſand crowns, or more; a very large ſum at that period. Theſe, beſides the moſt valuable books, were trifling in compariſon of what he loſt by his foreign agents and debtors, who ſeeing him ruined, choſe to forget that they owed him any thing.

But from theſe loſſes let us turn to the perſon of the wretched exile, for ſuch he was

Digitized by Google

was become, having fled in the diſguiſe of a livery ſervant to Venice. The ſeigniory, from the regard they had to the memory of Coſmo and Lorenzo, gave him protection, allowed him an handſome apartment, and permitted himſelf and twenty others to wear ſwords; but he could not procure any penſion; he therefore experienced the greateſt pecuniary diſtreſs; becauſe of all that wealth, which had procured him the envy of the greateſt monarchs, he could not now obtain one hundred ducats to purchaſe a ſuit of cloaths.

The victorious Charles, before whom all things bent, could not have ſupported Pietro, had he dared to remain, or return into Florence, ſo great was the deſerved hatred of his fellow-citizens againſt him. The only mitigation this mighty monarch could procure, was the recal of that part of his ſentence, which offered a price for his head, and which was changed to perpetual baniſhment, with an abſolute command not to come within one hundred miles of Flo-



Digitized by Google

rence. The attainder was taken off his brothers, but they were not ſuffered to remain within the dominions of the republic. So ſevere a fate deſervedly fell upon Pietro; but it was cruel and unjuſt to include in it Giovanni and Julian, who were innocent; but the very name of Medici created fear, and was become odious to that people, who had been accuſtomed to regard it with veneration.

Hope is generally the friend of the miſerable: Pietro truſted that the French king would reſtore him, and Charles, who found by his ambaſſador at Venice, that he expreſſed a regard to his ſacred perſon, and that he had fled, not from his majeſty, but from the Florentines, began to compaſſionate him. He conſidered too, that in him he might gain an ally, whom gratitude would oblige to be faithful, and by reſtoring him he ſhould puniſh the Florentines, who had offended him.

The republic had ratified the treaty which Pietro had concluded; had given the young king

Digitized by Google

king fifty thouſand ducats; had promiſed to pay him ſeventy thouſand more at two early days; and had complimented him with changing the arms of their city for thoſe of France; yet, as they had refuſed ſeveral extravagant demands, and dared to murmur at being treated with inſufferable haughtineſs, the inſolent conqueror determined to reſtore Pietro, whom they juſtly conſidered as their greateſt enemy.

Pietro was informed of this favourable turn in his affairs by a letter diſpatched by the monarch; but he, whom misfortunes had not taught wiſdom, with a fooliſh vanity peculiar to himſelf, went and laid this epiſtle before the Venetian ſenate, weakly ſuppoſing, that when they ſaw him ſo powerfully ſupported, they would rejoice in aſſiſting to reſtore him to his loſt ſplendor. Thoſe wiſe people, however, were very differently affected; they treated him with more jealouſy and caution; for they ſaw with grief that French army, which, from having no regular pay, lived upon free quar-



Digitized by Google

ters wherever they came, and behaved with the insolence that French victory peculiarly gives.

The liberty of Italy seemed endangered; Naples was their own, and the troops to be marched from France to that kingdom to preserve it in subjection, must on every account be disagreeable to their state, through which they were to go.

Venice, therefore, was amongst the foremost to enter into a common league to drive out the French, and consequently an enemy to all the partizans of that dreaded power. For these reasons, the Venetians admonished Pietro by no means to accept the proffered assistance; and to more effectually prevent it, they placed a guard, which constantly attended him, to prevent his leaving their dominions without their permission.

Pietro, however, eluded their vigilance, and escaped to Sienna; but when he arrived there, he saw the futility of all his reliances in Charles; for that weak sovereign, who

Digitized by Google

who had flown like a meteor through the Italian hemiſphere, ſaw himſelf driven out of Naples with the ſame eaſe as he had taken poſſeſſion of it, and he was then attempting to return to his hereditary dominions with the ſame rapidity as he had flown from them to Naples. Inſtead of being the arbiter of princes and ſtates, he only planned ſchemes to evade the general combination againſt him, to cut him off; that they might teach foreign potentates the danger of ſuch raſh knight-errantry. Pietro, inſtead of being received by Charles into Florence, found that deſerted monarch durſt not even venture into the territories of the republic, much leſs declare openly in his favour.

Notwithſtanding theſe diſcouragements, fortune again began to ſmile, and ſeemed to promiſe Pietro a renewal of her favours. The Florentines were deſerted by their allies. Venice, and even Lodovico, appeared to pity his diſtreſs. The former lent him money, in hopes that, if he ſucceeded, he



Digitized by Google

would give them the full ſovereignty of Piſa, which had revolted, as had many other ſmall ſtates that were ſubject to Florence. He had alſo obtained, out of his broken fortunes, ten thouſand ducats; and his brother-in-law, Virginio Orſini, joined him with a band of veteran troops; nor did he want many friends in Florence; becauſe the people, as well from their ill ſucceſs in war, as from the ſcarcity of corn, were diſcontented with their leaders. The nobles, who ſaw themſelves diſgraced by having Savanarola, an enthuſiaſt, raiſe the dregs of the people to all places of eminence, were alſo diſguſted.

Bardo del Nero, the gonfalonier, a man of virtue, was attached to the Medici, as were very many others, as well from remembering their liberality, as from that pity which generally attends the unfortunate, even though unworthy. The generals Bentivolio and Alviano alſo declared in his favour, as did pope Alexander and the Sieneſe, the latter of whom ſent him a thouſand horſe and foot. He now truſted

that

that his reſtoration would ſpeedily be obtained, and he ſeemed juſtified in entertaining ſuch ſanguine hopes.

With all theſe advantages, and in full expectation of ſucceſs, he ſet out about noon, intending to reach Florence by break of day, and ſuppoſed he ſhould be able to ſurpriſe the city. How often are our gayeſt proſpects deſtroyed! A ſtorm falling in the night prevented the army reaching the city until the middle of the day. The inhabitants, apprized of their danger, in the utmoſt alarm ſent to the army they had in Piſa; the forces within the walls they put under the command of Vitelli. All ſuſpected of favouring the Medici were conducted to priſon, and every other precaution uſed. So that after Pietro had waited in the vicinity for four hours, with the greateſt impatience, vainly expecting his party in Florence to declare for him, he was obliged, though with the utmoſt reluctance, to abandon his project, and retire to Sienna without obtaining any advantage, excepting that of Alviano's having plundered Todi.

To

Digitized by Google

To add to his misfortunes, he was informed of the ruin of his friends in Florence: the gonfalonier and three principal citizens were put to death, and his other partizans were either confined in prison or banished. The endeavours of the Venetians, of the lords of Imola and Forli, and of Cæsar Borgia, to reinstate him in the government of the republic, were alike ineffectual.

The wretched state of Florence, where every trace of regularity in government had disappeared, was of no avail to him; and they gave up to papal authority the pretended prophet, who, by prognosticating his restoration, had kept up the interest of his expiring party.

His hopes seemed now to be centered in the French, under whose banners, in the war which Lewis XII. the successor of Charles VIII. carried on against Naples, he united himself.

But irresistible fate pursuing him, that battle fought upon the banks of Casigliano, which

Digitized by Google

which gave the Neapolitan crown to Ferdinand the Catholic, ruined every future hope by terminating his life. For in attempting to eſcape after the battle to Caeta in a boat, it overſet in the mouth of the Lira, being unable to contend with a contrary wind, whilſt heavy laden with artillery and many paſſengers.—Thus periſhed Pietro, in the year 1504, when in the vigour of his life, obtaining from the French only a coat of arms granted to him by Lewis XII. or at leaſt an addition to it. In his perſon he was handſome, but his countenance betrayed that weakneſs of capacity that every inſtance here given declared.

By Alphonſina, the daughter of Roberto Orſini, conſtable of France, who died in 1520, he had two ſons and a daughter; 1, Lorenzo, who became duke of Urbino; 2, Coſmo, who had no child: by Lucretia, Cajetana, and Clariſia, married to Philippo Strozzi.



Digitized by Google

## CHAPTER X.

### THE LIFE OF POPE LEO X.

THE hiſtory of Leo X. will afford more entertainment than that of the unhappy Pietro; a more unfortunate one is ſcarcely recorded in the annals of time. It is the fate of the memorialiſt often to preſent human nature in her worſt colours, but it is his part, that from the mirror the trueſt repreſentation ſhould be given.—To leave moralizing, let us reſume theſe memoirs, only obſerving, that in giving the life of Leo there will be occaſion frequently to ſpeak more of the general hiſtory of Italy than heretofore.

Giovanni, a younger ſon of Lorenzo the Magnificent, obtained by the care of his father a cardinal's hat, when only fourteen years of age, it having been conferred upon him by the favour of pope Innocent VIII. the

Digitized by Google

the friend of Lorenzo. From his high rank, and the youth of his brother Pietro's children, he was ſet, by the Medici, at the head of his family, to whom they looked up for protection in the grievous misfortunes that overwhelmed them.

The cardinal had been included in the proſcription which his brother's ill conduct had drawn upon the Medici, and he had undergone a ſeries of extraordinary adventures; but he found in the courts of Guido and Franceſco, dukes of Urbino, a friendly aſylum.

Florence, it muſt be remarked, after the death of Pietro, was at the loweſt ebb, and ſeemed ſinking into ruin. The Piſans, having been joined by Genoa and Lucca, bid defiance to the Florentines; inſtead of acting only upon the defenſive, they attacked and took Arezzo. Cortona fell a victim to Lodovico Sforza, ſurnamed the Moor, duke of Milan, whoſe fears of France only kept him from laying ſiege to the capital; and when this perfidious monſter was, in 1500, expelled

Digitized by Google

expelled his dominions by Lewis XII.* it gave no advantage to Florence; and to fill up the meaſure of her misfortunes, Balione, her general, deſerted to her enemies.

From theſe misfortunes, and the unhappy diviſions in the republic, Giovanni flattered himſelf he might be able to procure the return of himſelf and his family, eſpecially as cardinal Sforza, as if united by ſimilitude of fortunes, declared his intereſt to be inſeparably the ſame with that of the Medici. But all theſe pleaſing appearances vaniſhed; cardinal Sforza died; Piſa was deſerted by her allies; and cardinal de la Rovere, the nephew of Sixtus IV. became pope, Oct. 17, 1503, ſucceeding Pius III. who had ſurvived his election only a month. The new pontiff took the name of Julius II. and one of his firſt acts of power was, to declare

* Lewis XII. having conquered Milan, entered the capital of the duchy in ducal robes, in triumph. Lodovico was betrayed by his Swiſs ſoldiers, and ſent a priſoner to France, where he continued until his death, ſhut up in the caſtle of Loches, unpitied by any.

himſelf

Digitized by Google

himſelf the ally of Florence, with whom he firſt ſigned a treaty, and then a peace. Florence, by this extraordinary alteration, regained her loſt dominions, and civil diſcord ſubſiding, the Medici ſeemed for ever excluded her walls.

Giovanni's drooping hopes, however, were ſoon raiſed again by the folly of Soderini, who had exaſperated his new ally, the pope, by imprudently permitting a general council, called by Lewis XII. to ſit at Piſa. In revenge for this inſult, and to take from the French a power that was their great ſupport, his holineſs determined to reſtore the Medici, as it would neceſſarily deſtroy Soderini, who was at the head of the republic, and in his ſtead place Giovanni, who was, both from intereſt and inclination, the enemy of a nation that he could not endure.

Several favourable circumſtances occurred to promote this change. The Florentines, diſguſted with Soderini's impolitic conduct, of having himſelf declared gonfalonier for life,

Digitized by Google

life, in imitation of Cæſar's perpetual dictatorſhip, were convinced that they were no more ſafe under him, than they had been before the expulſion of the Medici, nor that they enjoyed more freedom under the government of Soderini, than they had done under that of the exiled family; and they perceived, that they were neither ſo rich nor ſo happy as before the expulſion of the latter.

Soderini too was the ally of France, who had treated the commonwealth with an exceſs of haughtineſs. Great numbers of the citizens were ſecretly attached to the Medici from friendſhip, intereſt, or gratitude, and not a few from fear and the love of change, which always has its charms with the populace.

No perſon could be better adapted to profit by theſe favourable conjunctures than Giovanni; he poſſeſſed every requiſite to pleaſe, was in the prime of his life, handſome, graceful, polite, affable, magnificent, and liberal. So many ſplendid qualities cloathed

Digitized by Google

cloathed with the cardinalate, and inveſted with both the legatineſhips of Peruſia and Bologna, with the recollection of his father's great merit, confirmed the wavering, and won new partizans. The religious looked upon him as the mediator between them and heaven, and the young nobility truſted to him to ſupport them in their extravagancies.

In this criſis nothing could be more opportune than the gonfalonier's joining the French in their attempts upon Milan; as it convinced Julius that he and France were not to be ſeparated, and determined him no longer to defer the ruin of his intereſt in Florence by the recal of the Medici.

Upon the eve, as Giovanni ſuppoſed, of this being accompliſhed, he ſaw himſelf, by the loſs of the battle of Ravenna, a priſoner to Lewis XII. of which Julius was no ſooner informed, than by a monitory addreſſed to the conqueror, he demanded his liberation.



Digitized by Google

Giovanni at the ſame time received from his holineſs a commiſſion to abſolve ſuch of the victorious ſoldiers as applied for pardon, for having dared to withſtand the arms of the vicar of Chriſt, and a power of granting funereal rites to the dead: It is impoſſible to expreſs the effects this produced. The ſoldiers, reſpecting him as alone having true apoſtolic power, thronged to him, and not only the common men, but the ennobled perſons of the illuſtrious families of Viſconti, Palavicini, and Trivalzi; perhaps too the oppoſition of Giovanni's character to San Severino, the legate of the council of Piſa, not a little contributed to this, for he was reſerved, haughty, and ſevere; and inſtead of the habit of peace, in which his rival appeared, he wore bright ſhining armour.

To prevent the deſertion of the army, which looked up to him with reverence and love, it was reſolved to ſend him into France, no place in Italy being judged proper to confine him. Giovanni finding the intention

Digitized by Google

intention of his enemies, prudently threw every impediment in the way, prolonging his ſtay in the camp as long as poſſible; and when obliged to commence his journey, he purſued the ſame plan, flattering himſelf that ſome favourable circumſtance might offer to aſſiſt him in making his eſcape.

Early one morning, as Giovanni was preparing to take a boat to paſs over the river Po, oppoſite to Biſignana, Rinaldo Zallo, a noble Venetian, obſerving the ſacred dignity of the priſoner, reſolved, if poſſible, to procure him his liberty; for this purpoſe collecting with expedition his domeſtics, and ſome peaſants of the village of Del Cairo, whom he ordered to advance ſhouting, and fall upon the guard. The project anſwered the kind deſign of Zallo, for the guard affrighted, by ſuppoſing them a regular body of forces, deſerted their priſoner, to ſeek their own ſafety in flight.

His eſcape gave new life to the hopes of the party; Julius inſtantly renounced the treaty he had ſolemnly concluded with Flo-



Digitized by Google

rence, and at a congreſs of the holy league it was reſolved, through the perſuaſion of the papal ambaſſador, ſeconded by the intreaties of Julian, the brother of Giovanni, to reſtore the Medici to their country. To carry this into effect, Giovanni was inveſted with legatine power throughout Tuſcany, and put at the head of the pontifical army, which was joined by the troops of Naples, commanded by the viceroy of Ferdinand the Catholic.

It was to no purpoſe the Florentines urged the repeated treaties that had been concluded between them and the allies, and the exactneſs with which they had fulfilled the laſt. The confederates inſiſted upon Soderini's abdicating the gonfalonierſhip, and admitting the Medici into Florence; this he abſolutely refuſed.

The ſordid avarice of Soderini defeated its own aim, and befriended the Medici to a great degree; he had heretofore refuſed the aſſiſtance of the emperor Maximilian at a ſtipulated price, ſo now he refuſed to part



Digitized by Google

with thirty thouſand ducats, which the covetous viceroy aſked as the terms of betraying the intereſt of the exiled family.

He fooliſhly relied upon the faith of the fickle multitude. Fatal ſecurity! Prato was ſtormed, and Piſtra revolted, declaring for the Medici. Theſe misfortunes filled Florence with diſcontent, and whilſt a revolt was each moment threatened, Julian, with three other young noblemen, accompliſhed the revolution. The names of theſe grandees were Bartolomeo Valori, Paulo Vettori, and Antonio Franceſco Albizi; the ſcheme was planned in a conference held at a country ſeat not far from Florence.

They carried their intentions into execution by ſecretly entering the city with their partizans, when ſeizing Soderini, they obliged him, by threatening inſtant death in caſe of refuſal, to quit the magiſtracy. The unhappy man tremblingly complied with commands he durſt not diſpute, and fled immediately after to Raguſa by ſea, with the money he could convey away, but



Digitized by Google

the four youths who undertook the plot ſeized upon the public treaſury, and then aſſembled the people, taking advantage of the univerſal panic to procure the repeal of the baniſhment of the Medici.

The artful Julius, gratified that he had reſtored the exiled family, wiſhed them only to be eſteemed as private citizens of Florence, ſuppoſing them equal in that capacity to contend with the French faction; and flattered himſelf, that whilſt he thus kept them, he might depend upon the fidelity of Giovanni. This however did not ſatisfy the cardinal, he was too penetrating to be long the dupe of the pontiff's ambition.

To counteract his holineſs's deſign, he uſed all thoſe blandiſhments that ſeemed ſo natural to him, and which won, deſervedly won, every heart. He protected the women of Prato from the brutality of the ſoldiers, and put a ſtop to the carnage of the men of that place. He acted with moderation to all; he interceded with his friends to ſpare the

Digitized by Google

the moſt violent enemies of his houſe. He gained the young nobility by an exceſs of liberality.

Having by theſe means prepared for the completion of his project, he excuſed himſelf from paying the viceroy of Naples, pretending that he could not procure the money, owing to the French faction in the city, who threw every obſtacle to it in his way. The greedy vice-king fell into the ſnare ſo artfully laid for him; he, anxious to ſecure the ſtipulated ſum, and diſregarding the manner in which it was raiſed, told Giovanni that he might diſpoſe of the city in what manner he choſe, as moſt conducive to obtain the wiſhed-for money.

This was a moment not to be loſt, he aſſembled the people in the great ſquare, where he ſtationed his friends, many of whom were lately won by the money he had judiciouſly applied; theſe all voted for a change in the form of government, and placed none but ſuch as he approved in the magiſtracy; few, except Baptiſto Rodolphi,



Digitized by Google

the new gonfalonier, and the other officers of juſtice, oppoſing it, but theſe were borne down, as prejudiced to their own intereſt; thoſe who had the ſame ſentiments finding themſelves ſurrounded by the Neapolitan troops, lent for the preſent purpoſe by the viceroy, knowing how vain, how dangerous would be their oppoſition, appeared to acquieſce in what they could not prevent.

This revolution at once ſurpriſed and alarmed Julius; knowing that the Catholic king paid no regard to the moſt ſolemn treaties, when it was his intereſt to break them, he imagined that Giovanni had won him over by ſome extraordinary temptation, never ſuppoſing that the young cardinal could have dared to have acted with ſuch determined courage, had not he depended upon the ſupport of ſo powerful a prince. He feared the power of Spain equally with that of France, and felt himſelf ill at eaſe in ſuppoſing that two ſuch powerful ſtates ſhould almoſt ſurround his dominions, who were allies, and could, with the aſſiſtance drawn

Digitized by Google

drawn from Spain, give laws to the patrimony of St. Peter. Entertaining theſe ſentiments, it is not to be wondered at that his holineſs determined to deprive Giovanni of that conſequence he had dared to ſeize without his participation.

Perhaps nothing could have ſaved the Medici from a cruel reverſe to their newly renewed conſequence, but the timely death of the violent Julius II. who was taken from his earthly grandeur, February 21, 1513.

Though the Medici were ſo lately reinſtated in the government of Florence, yet Giovanni had the courage to leave the republic and repair to Rome, to aſſiſt in the conclave at the election of a ſucceſſor to Julius. Whilſt detained in this confinement he fell ill, ſcandal ſays of a complaint never occaſioned by chaſtity, and the young and the old cardinals quarrelling which ſhould appoint a future pope, both parties at length acquieſced in nominating Giovanni, though only thirty-ſeven years of age,

Digitized by Google

age, from the ſuppoſition that his preſent malady would ſoon terminate fatally; and Giovanni, to the joint ſurpriſe of the world, and of himſelf, was ſaluted ſovereign pontiff, March 10, in the preceding year, aſſuming the name of Leo X. upon the occaſion, in conformity to the uſage of the popes.

Leo, in his coronation, diſplayed a magnificence that exceeded whatever had been ſeen in Rome; the expences were more than one hundred thouſand crowns. It was celebrated upon the anniverſary of the battle of Ravenna; and his holineſs rode the ſame horſe he did when he had been captured. It is foreign to the deſign of theſe memoirs to write the hiſtory of the papacy during his pontificate, but only continue to repreſent him to the reader as the principal of the houſe of Medici.

What a change was here in the fortune of the lately exiled cardinal! He was now ſovereign of two conſiderable ſtates, and in right of one, the acknowledged head of Europe.

Digitized by Google

Europe. Leo regarded his elevation in no other eſtimation, than as the means it afforded him to raiſe his family to permanent ſovereignty.

The moſt powerful monarchs vied with each other in offering him and his family their friendſhip; Ferdinand the Catholic, and Francis I. the ſucceſſor of Lewis XII. ſtrove who ſhould moſt ingratiate themſelves by their liberality to the Medici. The former propoſed an advantageous marriage between Julian and a princeſs of Cordona, allied to the crown of Spain, but Francis outbid him by offering his aunt, Philiberta, daughter of Philibert, and ſiſter of Charles, dukes of Savoy. In right of this lady he became duke of Nemours *, and

* Nemours is in the Gatinois, upon the river Loing, ten miles from Fontainbleau, and forty-five ſouth of Paris. The title of Nemours was exchanged by Charles II. king of Navarre, for Evreaux, and by inheritance it deſcended to the family of Foix, who parted with it to France for the principality of Beaufort; Francis I. mortgaged it, and afterwards paſſed it to Philip

Digitized by Google

and by the bounty of his brother he was impowered to ſettle upon his bride one hundred thouſand ducats. Henry VIII. who alſo courted the friendſhip of the Medici, created the duke knight of the garter, and dedicated to his holineſs his well known book written againſt the tenets of Luther, for which Leo gave him the title of Defender of the Faith.

Leo, not content with the honours and titles he had procured Julian, meditated to raiſe him to the ſovereignty of Modena, Reggio, Parma, Placenza, and the Farrarese. The four latter had been mortgaged to his holineſs by the emperor Maximilian for forty thouſand ducats, for which he was declared hereditary vicar, and had not Maximilian redeemed them, Leo would have conveyed them over to Julian,

Up II. furnamed the Fair, duke of Savoy, knight of the order of St. Michael, and governor of Dauphine. After Julian's death, a younger branch of Savoy retook the title. In later times the dukes of Orleans have aſſumed it.

The

Digitized by Google

The ambitious pontiff aimed at ſtill higher promotion for his brother; he meant to wreſt the crown of Naples from Arragon, and place it upon his head, and there can be little doubt but that he would have attained ſome greater dignity for him, had not death ſnatched Julian away. His loſs was greatly deplored both by his family and the public, becauſe with a taſte equal to Leo's he united many diſtinguiſhed virtues. Julian was born in 1478, and died March 17, 1516, and was buried in the church of St. Lorenzo, in Florence. His monument was the work of Michael Angelo, whoſe much admired ſtatues of Day and Night are a part of it. By Philiberta he had no child; but he left Hyppolita, an illegitimate ſon, who became a cardinal.

Leo accompliſhed his wiſh in providing for Julian, without giving uneaſineſs, or being guilty of injuſtice to any one; but his conduct was moſt reproachable in his advancement of Lorenzo, the ſon of the unfortunate Pietro. He had given him an excellent

cellent education, and placed him over the republic of Florence to govern under himſelf. To raiſe him to an independent ſovereignty, however, was his aim, and he fixed upon Urbino, though its duke, Franciſco-Maria, had ſhewed every kindneſs to him and his brother in the firſt years of their baniſhment. But gratitude was of little avail when intereſt called; beſides, the duke had been averſe to the reſtoration of the Medicean power in Florence, which Leo thought abrogated all former obligation.

The amiable Julian whilſt he lived had conſtantly oppoſed Leo's intention, as inconſiſtent with decency and honour, but his death left his holineſs at liberty to act as he pleaſed, without ſuch a monitor to check his deſigns. The duke of Urbino's character was not irreproachable; an excuſe for the intended violence was eaſily procured: he had in the heat of paſſion ſtabbed the cardinal of Pavia for his attachment to France; this was the crime principally inſiſted

Digitized by Google

ſiſted upon, though his having loſt Bologna to the papacy, his oppoſing the reſtoration of the Medici, and poſſeſſing a fine principality, were the greateſt in the eye of the greedy ambitious pontiff.

Leo fulmigated his thunder againſt him, and declared his duchy forfeited to the holy ſee, of which he held. Franciſco-Maria did not pay implicit obedience, he remonſtrated, he did more, he put himſelf in a poſture of defence, but the treaſury of Florence poured out her ample ſtores to obtain what rendered arms of little avail. The ſoldiers were bribed, and the duke was obliged to leave his dominions to the Medici, to whom he had formerly given aſylum. This buſineſs coſt eight hundred thouſand ducats, but the annual revenue of Urbino was very great; even Piſaro, San Leo, and Singalia, which were ſeparate members of it, and conquered with the duchy, yielded a revenue of twenty-five thouſand ducats.

His holineſs having provided Lorenzo, his nephew, with a principality, united him

in

Digitized by Google

in marriage to Madelaine de la Tour, of Auvergne, of the houſe of Bouillon, allied to the blood royal of France. The lying Sleidan, to uſe the epithet of the emperor Charles V. calls this lady Galla, of the houſe of Bolonois, but ſhe was the ſecond daughter of John de la Tour, count of Auvergne, deſcended from a brother of Godfrey, the firſt Chriſtian king of Jeruſalem, by Jane of Bourbon, ſiſter to the count of Vendoſme. She brought Lorenzo a fortune of ten thouſand ducats per annum, chiefly the gift of Francis I. who alſo preſented him with fifty thouſand ducats out of the money raiſed for the cruſade againſt the ſultan Selim I. and which Leo had given a brief to that monarch to apply to his own uſe.

It is not eaſy to eſtimate the grief of this pontiff, when he ſaw this prince brought to an early grave, by a lingering illneſs contracted in France from youthful intemperance, and in a few days afterwards Madelaine, in bringing into the world Catherine, their only child. The little orphan became

queen

Digitized by Google

queen of France, and is ſo well known for the uncommon beauty, fine accompliſhments, and the vaſt extent of abilities ſhe poſſeſſed, but which were rendered dangerous in the extreme by the atrocious wickedneſs of her manners.

Lorenzo had little to recommend him to Leo, except his relationſhip, as his character was chiefly formed of deceit, revenge, and cowardice. When he had ſhamefully deſerted France, and dreaded her vengeance, he meanly threw the whole blame upon his uncle and benefactor. Inſtead of anſwering the challenge of the injured duke of Urbino, as military honour demanded, he baſely hired aſſaſſins to murder him, which they were near perpetrating. Lorenzo died May 4, 1519; his remains were depoſited in the ſacriſty of St. Lorenzo's church, near thoſe of the duke of Nemours. His monument is alſo the workmanſhip of Michael Angelo; his effigies, and the figure of Aurora and Twilight, are the admiration of connoiſſeurs.



Digitized by Google

Leo did not confine his favours to the neareſt of his name. He was the patron of every one of his family, whether of the male or female line, not forgetting the illegitimate branches. He even formed the project of leaving Julio, the poſthumous natural ſon of the unfortunate Julian, who fell a victim to the malice of pope Sixtus IV. and the Pazzi, his ſucceſſor in the papal ſee. Lorenzo, the Magnificent, had ſhewn his particular regard for his brother Julian, by an extreme tenderneſs for this his ſon, whom he educated with his own children, treated as his nephew, and loaded with every kindneſs.

His fine parts, learning, and taſte, ſtill, if poſſible, more endeared all the Medici to him. His courage, aſſiduity, and the eaſe and dexterity with which he performed the moſt difficult and hazardous enterprizes, won him the favour of the diſcerning Julius, who created him a knight of Rhodes, and grand prior of Capua, and as ſuch he carried the ſtandard of the military order at the coronation of Leo.



Digitized by Google

The pontiff was no ſooner ſeated upon the papal throne, than he obliged Julio to go into the church, though his inclination led him moſt to the camp. Eccleſiaſtical honours crouded upon him. He received the archiepiſcopate of Florence, and the following year was preſented with a cardinal's hat, and made chancellor of the Roman church, the next dignitary to the pope. The emperor Charles V. granted him great penſions, and when Leo broke with Cæſar, Francis I. to make a recompence for the loſs it would occaſion to the cardinal, aſſigned him an annuity and preferments to the value of ten thouſand ducats yearly, as he had before done to Lorenzo. His promotions in the church were beyond all decency, holding biſhopricks in moſt of the kingdoms in Europe *; and Leo, after Lorenzo's death, appointed him governor of Florence.

* Cardinal Julio de Medici was appointed biſhop of Worceſter in 1521, and reſigned it in 1523.



Digitized by Google

In all theſe various ſituations, Julio acted with conſummate prudence, and by the confidence Leo placed in him, he plainly pointed him out as heir to the Medicean grandeur. There was none of the elder branch of the family to conteſt it with him, and if there had, his vaſt advantages would have ſecured it to him againſt every opponent.

In this ſituation was the houſe of Medici, when Leo, its head, was ſuddenly called away by exceſs of joy; for whilſt he ſat at ſupper, news was brought him that the French were beaten out of Italy; he cried out, "God has been ſo merciful to me, as to let "me ſee three things, which I deſired from "the bottom of my heart:—To return with "honour into Florence, whence I was "baniſhed with ſhame; to have merit "ſufficient to advance me to the papacy; "and to ſee the French beaten out of "Italy." In pronouncing of which laſt words, he fell dead with the glaſs he held in his hand.

This

Digitized by Google

This event took place December 2, 1521, when he had within a few days compleated his forty-eighth year, and ſat in the papal chair about eight. His remains were depoſited in a brick grave in St. Peter's church, but were afterwards removed by Paul III. to the church St. Maria-Sopra-Minerva.

Revenge, more than policy, made Leo the inveterate enemy of France; he remembered that the misfortunes of his houſe were in a great meaſure owing to that nation; but whenever his own or his family's intereſt demanded it, he altered his conduct. He profeſſed the utmoſt affection for Francis I. at Bologna, where they had an interview, yet he took the firſt opportunity to break his engagements with that monarch.

Leo's exceſs of magnificence charmed the Romans; a medal was ſtruck with Liberalitas Pontificia upon the reverſe, with a device ſuitable to the motto. He was the firſt pontiff that had a medal elegantly wrought; his predeceſſor began to ſtrike



Digitized by Google

them. Martin I. is the earlieſt who had one ſtruck in honour of his memory.

Leo's ambition and inclination to enlarge the patrimony of St. Peter was equal to that of his predeceſſor; but Julius left a full, Leo, an empty treaſury. "Other pontifi-"cates," it was ſaid, "expired at the death "of a pope, but his continued long after." His unbounded magnificence and liberality, which his revenue, immenſe as it was, could not ſupport, by producing the ſale of indulgencies, began the Reformation. Some of them the pope had given to be raiſed by ſale, in particular provinces, to his relations and friends; Saxony was apportioned to his ſiſter Maddelene, the wife of Franciſco Cibo, ſon of Innocent VIII. not more from affinity to her than in gratitude to him, whoſe family had treated the Medici in the kindeſt manner after their expulſion from Florence. Theſe were ſold at ſo great and extravagant a price, that it called forth Luther, and Luther, freedom from papal tyranny.

His

Digitized by Google

His affection to his family, by its excess, became highly criminal, because neither justice, honour, or gratitude, were any impediment to the promoting their interest; forgetting for that purpose every thing due to his sacred character. It is said he did not even pretend to believe in revelation: His mirth was that of a Bacchanalian: With all these excessive defects, he will ever be remembered by the lovers of learning and taste with veneration. His reign was the golden age of literature, and the arts were not less obliged to him, owing in a great measure to his father having selected those of the highest celebrity in every science for his tutors and early companions. How much is it to be lamented, that he was not equally virtuous as learned and elegant.

It will not be improper here to observe what Baretti says: "Florence was deserv-"edly celebrated for having been, during "the whole 16th century, so eminent a "seat of literature, as to be scarcely equal-



Digitized by Google

"ed by any other in Europe. Florence "was in that century called the Athens of "Italy."—"Tuſcany was the miſtreſs of "politeneſs to France, as France has ſince "been to all the weſtern world; and this "little province may juſtly boaſt of having "produced, and nearly at one time, a greater "number of extraordinary men, than per- "haps any of the moſt extenſive European "kingdoms."

CHAPTER

## CHAPTER XII.

### THE LIFE OF POPE CLEMENT VII.

FROM the advantages poſſeſſed by the cardinal Julio de Medici, he became head of his family. Florence ſubmitted to him as if legitimate, and the next heir to an hereditary principality, and he determined, if poſſible, to unite the dominions of the church with thoſe he already poſſeſſed, as Leo had done; but the emperor Charles V. procured the papacy for his own preceptor, Hadrian Floraſſen, cardinal of Tortoſa; but this honeſt Dutchman, from the vexations his elevated rank occaſioned, and his grief at not having it in his power to effect the reformation he had planned, ſunk under it, not ſurviving his exaltation but a little more than one year *.

* Pope Hadrian was elected Jan 9, 1522, and died Sept. 14, 1523.

The

Digitized by Google

The hopes and expectations of Julio revived by Hadrian's death. His perſeverance and bribery overcame the various difficulties that aroſe, as it was contrary to a fixed law to give the triple tiara to one that was born out of wedlock, by procuring a perſon to ſwear that his father privately married the lady to whom he owed his birth.

He was elected November 18, 1523, and was prevented following Hadrian's example, in not changing his name, from the idea that thoſe who did not ſeldom ſurvived the firſt year after their election; he therefore aſſumed that of Clement, either from its being near the time of that feſtival, or from his pardoning the cardinal of Volterra, who had oppoſed him to the laſt, and whom Hadrian had declared incapable of aſſiſting in the conclave. His coronation was upon the anniverſary of that day, on which, two years before, he had triumphantly entered Milan in quality of legate to the papal army, when France loſt that duchy.

The

Digitized by Google

The Romans rejoiced in his election, thinking they ſhould ſee Leo's magnificence reſtored, which they had feelingly contraſted to the monaſtic court of Hadrian. The cardinals were pleaſed with dividing the rich preferments he held when one of their number, and he ſeemed to have no enemy but France. His great capacity and love of buſineſs made him feared and courted by all.

Never were the public more miſtaken than in Clement VII. for before he had arrived at the ſummit of his wiſhes, he had ever diſplayed conſummate judgment; but as if his nature had been changed with his name, he became timid, irreſolute, ſuſpicious, and diſſembling: theſe loſt him the advantages his ſituation gave him, as arbiter of Italy, and umpire to the mighty monarchs of Germany and France.

Whilſt he was bewildered in perplexity, in conſidering which was the ſtrongeſt, he loſt the friendſhip of both. Had he declared for either, he might have named his own

Digitized by Google

own terms, becauſe his aſſiſtance, if timely applied, would probably have turned the ſcale, ſo nicely was the ſtrength of theſe potent rivals poiſed. The ill qualities juſt mentioned, joined with his avariciouſneſs and revenge, procured him the contempt and hatred of all.

Clement had ſoon reaſon to repent his crooked policy. France, for whom he ſacrificed the emperor, durſt not rely upon him, and conſequently would not ſupport him againſt that haughty potentate. His cup of affliction was continually augmented. The Colonni, diſpleaſed at his ſending ſoldiers into Lombardy, joined the Neapolitans in attacking and taking Rome. Inſtead of heading an army, as he had done when young, he fooliſhly purpoſed to ſit in his pontificalibus, like his predeceſſor Boniface VIII. who imitated the ancient Roman ſenators, as if men who took up arms againſt him would be ſtruck with any awe by his perſon or his robes.

He was at length, though with difficulty, prevailed

prevailed upon to ſeek his ſafety in the walls of St. Angelo; there he could negociate; and a peace was concluded, by which he promiſed to recal his troops, and the enemy, in return for this condeſcenſion, retired; but his fears being diſpelled, he baſely excommunicated the credulous Colonni, whom he deprived of his cardinal's hat.

The diſgrace his holineſs experienced by the Colonni was only a prelude to greater misfortunes. He had irritated the emperor to the higheſt degree by his repeated perfidy and diſſimulation, and Charles reſolved to make him feel the whole weight of his arms. For this purpoſe he ſet Bourbon, who had fled from France, and enliſted under the banners of Spain, at the head of an army of veterans, who took Rome by ſtorm. Bourbon, falling in the moment of victory, left the ſoldiers without a commander to repel their violences, and the city, once the capital of the world, experienced all the horrid exceſſes that the mind can imagine. Clement found no aſylum

now

Digitized by Google

now in St. Angelo, which was obliged to surrender at discretion, and he became a close prisoner to an implacable and relentless foe, who neither knew how, nor was inclined to treat him with a suitable respect: the miseries his subjects endured heightened his own sufferings to the greatest extent.

The licentious soldiers spared neither rank, sex, or age; they put three cardinals to death; the same fate attended five thousand citizens; and for eight days Rome was plundered without mercy. Never did this city "experience, in any age, so many cala-"mities, not even by the barbarians, by "whom they were successively subdued— "from the followers of Alaric, Genseric, or "Odoacer, as now from the subjects of a "Christian and Catholic monarch. What-"ever was respectable in modesty, or sacred "in religion, seemed only the more to pro-"voke the rage of the soldiers. Virgins "suffered violation in the arms of their mo-"thers, and upon those altars to which they

"fled

"fled for ſafety *. Venerable prelates, af-
"ter being expoſed to every indignity, not
"excepting the abuſe of unnatural deſire,
"and enduring every torture, were thrown
"into dungeons, and menaced with the
"moſt cruel deaths, in order to make them
"reveal their ſecret treaſure."

Charles, with a diſſimulation more criminal than that of Clement, fearing the effects of ſuch injuries, which reflected an eternal diſgrace upon him and his arms, meanly diſowned the action. To carry on a deceit that could blind only the moſt ignorant, he publicly expreſſed the greateſt ſorrow for the event, put himſelf and his court in mourning, and forbad all public rejoicings for the birth of the prince of the Aſturias, the heir of his hereditary domi-

* "Eight thouſand young women of all ranks were "found to be pregnant, within five months after the tak-"ing of Rome; a circumſtance not a little curious in "itſelf, and which certain ſportive writers have conſi-"dered as a proof, by no means equivocal, that the Ro-"man ladies reciprocated the tranſports of the rapacious "and blood-thirſty, but brawny followers of Bourbon."

nions.

Digitized by Google

nions. He even inſulted the Deity, by commanding public prayers for the pope's ſpeedy reſtoration to freedom, when all Europe knew that a ſingle word would have procured Clement his liberty.

How miſerable muſt have been the afflictions of the unhappy Clement! After ſuffering a ſeven months impriſonment in the caſtle of St. Angelo, he was taken from thence, and removed to Gaeta for greater ſecurity, but at length brought back to the place of his former confinement. To heighten his wretchedneſs, he was one while threatened with depoſition for bribery, and the next with being tranſported to Spain, from the vanity of Charles, in deſiring to have a king of France and a pope priſoners at Madrid within the ſpace of two years.

As if his ſufferings were not already ſufficiently cruel, the Florentines, to make up the ſum of his misfortunes, deſerted him in his afflictions, throwing off their ſubjection, and publiſhing the reſtoration of liberty. Not content with this, in revenge for having been

Digitized by Google

been greatly oppreſſed under Leo and him, they flew to arms, proſcribed the Medici, proclaimed them traitors, and reſtored the ancient government. Clement's deputy, the cardinal Cortona, made no reſiſtance. Secure, as they ſuppoſed, of the emperor, they ſcarcely left a veſtige remaining of the Medici in Florence.

Their effigies were every where deſtroyed; they even entered the church of the Nunciata, to throw down thoſe of Leo and Clement; nor would they permit the arms of the family to remain in the moſt private place. Their palaces were again robbed of all their precious furniture, and the immenſe collections of Leo underwent the ſame fate that had attended thoſe of Lorenzo.

Thus did the Medici, in one day, loſe all that for ages they had been contending for, and their name ſeemed for ever to be baniſhed from the walls of Florence; but how difficult is it to ſee into futurity!

Clement gradually extricated himſelf from



Digitized by Google

his accumulated misfortunes; for the emperor perceiving the diſtaſte all Europe, and particularly the Spaniards, had to the injuries and inſults he had put upon the head of the Chriſtian religion, liſtened to terms of accommodation, and appointed a day when his holineſs ſhould be ſet at liberty. The 19th of December, the day preceding his having permiſſion to go from Saint Angelo, he made his eſcape in the diſguiſe of a merchant, and reached Monte Fiaſcone that night; from thence he went to Orvieto.

Though the ſovereign pontiff had obtained his liberty, he durſt not again provoke a power with whom he had ſo lately experienced himſelf no way equal to cope; Charles too had his reaſons for a peace, ſo that the treaty was ſoon ratified. Clement was to pay forty thouſand gold crowns for his ranſom. Great as this ſum then was, it was trifling in compariſon of what he before had paid: the ſoldiers, when they firſt took Rome, extorted four hundred thouſand ducats for the payment of their arrears.

Digitized by Google

arrears. His holineſs bound himſelf not to intermeddle with Naples or Milan; and as a ſecurity for the performance of theſe terms, Oſtia, Civita Vecchia, and the citadel of Furli, were continued in the emperor's hands; Aleſandro and Hippolito de Medici were given as hoſtages; and laſtly, that a cruſade of a tenth of the revenues of Spain ſhould be granted to Charles.

To quiet Clement, and in ſome meaſure to obliterate the treatment he had received, the emperor requeſted a conference at Bologna, where he permitted his holineſs to crown him. He even threw himſelf at the pontiff's feet, and propoſed, to cement their union cloſer, that a marriage ſhould take place between Aleſandro de Medici, the reputed ſon of Lorenzo, duke of Urbino; but whom, in a future chapter, may be diſcovered was ſtill nearer allied to Clement, and Margaret, his Imperial majeſty's illegitimate daughter. It was at the ſame time propoſed to regain Florence, erect it into an hereditary duchy, and give it as a dowry to the bride.



Digitized by Google

Unhappy Florence! whoſe invaluable liberty was thus bartered away, to cement the union of two faithleſs princes, and for the promotion of two baſe born perſons. The fate of the republic, doomed to be the ſport of fortune, ſeemed to be irrevocably fixed. She was without allies, Charles having gained the hearts of all Italy by his liberality in granting privileges and indulgencies to every ſtate, and ſingly how could ſhe reſiſt ſo puiſſant a monarch as Charles V. eſpecially when aided by the thunder of the Vatican, and the arms and treaſure of the papacy.

The Florentines, conſcious of their inferiority in ſtrength and reſources, uſed every humble and perſuaſive argument to alter the dreadful ſentence, but they were only haughtily anſwered, that they muſt ſubmit to the ſtern decree. Unable to move his compaſſion, they reſolved to withſtand his arms, at the hazard of every thing dear to men.

Such a determination was the reſult of deſpair,

Digitized by Google

deſpair, not prudence; for the emperor's army conſiſted of twenty thouſand Italians, and ſix thouſand Spaniards and Germans, beſides recruits under the duke of Wertermberg. Though the conteſt was ſo unequal, for Florence had no ally, yet under Malaleſta Boillon they did every thing that it was poſſible for men defending their liberty to perform; they made repeated ſallies, in which they killed conſiderable numbers of the aſſailants, and the prince of Orange, the Imperial general loſt his life in one of them.

They endured every evil that a beſieged place is capable of: after conſuming all the food that was fit for human creatures to eat, they fed upon the moſt unclean animals; horſes, aſſes, dogs, cats, and vermin of all ſorts.

To ſo great a degree was their frenzy againſt the Medici raiſed, that they put ſeveral eccleſiaſtics to death for ſpeaking favourably of Clement. The nobility were above all meaſure filled with rage, regard-



Digitized by Google

ing the Medici as their inferiors in antiquity. Orlandini, a grandee, in his deſpair, ſet fire to his houſe, and then deſtroyed his wife, his children, and himſelf. To ſuch an exceſs of inveteracy were the Florentines carried againſt the exiled family, that they debated whether they ſhould not take Catherine de Medici out of the convent, and give her up to the luſt of the ſoldiers, though ſhe was only eleven years old.

The conteſt was too unequal; the haughty republicans were forced to ſubmit; but not until they had experienced every hardſhip, and ſhewn the greateſt deteſtation to the Medici, to ſatisfy whoſe ambition their invaluable privileges were to be ſacrificed. When they could no longer ſupport themſelves, they were with difficulty perſuaded, at the conference Clement had ſolicited, to ſubmit even to receive them as private citizens, and permit them to enjoy their paternal eſtates; much leſs would they liſten to the propoſition of Aleſandro's being acknowledged

Digitized by Google

knowledged their prince. After enduring inexpreſſible miſeries during a year's ſiege, they ſurrendered. The conditions agreed were a perfect reſtoration of the property the Medici had loſt; to pay eighty thouſand pounds to the emperor to diſcharge the army, and other expences he had incurred.

How weak are the moſt ſolemn engagements with thoſe who are incapable of honor! ſuch were Clement and Charles! No ſooner did they poſſeſs Florence, than inſtead of waiting the three months, which was to expire before Charles made his award, they immediately broke the treaty, by giving the republic to Aleſandro in ſovereignty; inſtead of an entire oblivion of all that was paſt, and grace to all, within a month, ſix of the firſt citizens were put to death, one hundred and fifty impriſoned, and many others, to avoid a like fate, fled.

In this manner were the Medici, who ſeemed a year or two before entirely ruined, ſettled in the acknowledged government of the Florentine commonwealth, which had



Digitized by Google

ſtrove in vain for ages to free itſelf from their yoke. Clement affected to conſider his gaining Florence for his family, as conferring a bleſſing upon her inhabitants, regarding them not as ſubjects, but brothers. To impreſs this upon their minds, he publiſhed medals bearing his effigies, inſcribed, CLEM. VII. PONT. MAX. Upon the reverſe is repreſented Joſeph diſcovering himſelf to his bretheren, with this ſcriptural epigraphe, EGO SUM JOSEPH FRATER VESTER.

Leaving Aleſandro in the poſſeſſion of a ſovereignty which was obtained at the expence of honor and juſtice, let us turn our eyes to Clement, whom it might have been ſuppoſed Charles had for ever gained from the intereſt of Francis, his rival, by two powerful motives, gratitude, and what ſtill more forcibly acted upon him, fear; but it did not happen ſo.

The French monarch ſaw that he would ſacrifice his moſt darling paſſion, revenge, to procure to his family any conſiderable advantages,

Digitized by Google

advantages, and juſtly thought, that by exceeding Charles in that point, he ſhould obtain the alliance of the papacy. A pope at that time was a friend well worth acquiring; and from the hatred that the emperor and king had to each other, and their equality in point of ſtrength, they little regarded the means they uſed in gaining allies.

Charles had given his natural daughter to an illegitimate ſon of the Medici. Francis propoſed, at the conference he had with Clement at Nice, a more flattering connection. He aſked Catherine, the daughter of Lorenzo, duke of Nemours, to be given in wedlock to his ſon Henry, duke of Orleans. The propoſition was kept a profound ſecret, and moſt of the courts in Europe were alarmed with the idea of ſome treaty having been agreed upon detrimental to their intereſt.

This princeſs had been complimented by Leo X. with the title of ducheſs of Urbino, but that principality reverted to its old

Digitized by Google

old and legal owner after that pope's death; ſhe however poſſeſſed ſeveral ſeigniories in France, in right of her father, and of her maternal aunt, Ann de la Tour, who left no iſſue by John, duke of Albany, the grandſon of James II. king of Scotland; ſhe alſo enjoyed other and vaſt property in eſtates and perſonalities, the pontiffs, her relations, heaping wealth and the richeſt valuables upon her. In beauty and accompliſhments ſhe exceeded every other princeſs; the heir of Ferrara and Franceſco Sforza had each been refuſed, though as a condition Charles had engaged to give him upon his marriage that rich jewel the duchy of Milan; but Clement thought a lady ſo rich, ſo captivating, and ſo nearly allied to the papacy, demanded no inconſiderable perſonage.

He had not, however, the vanity to raiſe his hopes ſo high as to a union with the blood royal of France, the moſt tenacious houſe in Europe, as well as the moſt ancient, and to a prince ſo near the throne. Convinced



Digitized by Google

of the ſincerity of Francis, which at firſt he could not credit, Clement forgot his fears; the marriage was concluded to the aſtoniſhment of all. His holineſs ſoon after attended the bride to Marſeilles, where he preſented her to Henry with a fortune that ſeemed to hide every deficiency in rank *.

Catherine was born in Florence, April 3, 1519; the dauphin dying ſuddenly, 1537, ſhe became wife of the heir apparent of France: the young prince's death was imputed to poiſon, the emperor's generals, Gonzaga and de Leyva were accuſed at that time of perpetrating the nefarious act, but later times have thrown the odium upon Catherine, that it might pave Henry's way to the throne: this ſeems equally unfounded with the other accuſation; probably he died a natural death; her ſubſequent crimes, dictated by ambition, probably occaſioned

* Pope Clement, to be aſſured that the marriage of the duke of Orleans and Catherine was *fully conſummated*, acted the part of certain old women in the Eaſt, by inſpecting the bridal linen.



Digitized by Google

theſe ſuſpicions. She had no child for ten years after her marriage, though ſhe bore ſeveral at ſubſequent periods; three of her ſons became ſovereigns of France: Francis II. Charles IX. and Henry III. who alſo was king of Poland. She long ſurvived her huſband Henry II. and in the minority of theſe three princes was regent of France. She was the moſt beautiful, accompliſhed, politic, ambitious, and cruel princeſs, that Europe ever beheld.

The ſtability of the Medicean grandeur was now eſtabliſhed; their intereſt became inſeparable even to the two contending princes, who had ſo long divided Europe, and agreed in no other reſpect than the advancement of this houſe—France ſaw her future queen in Catherine, and Charles could never injure Aleſandro, the huſband of his daughter, a natural one indeed, but whom he regarded with an affection as great as if ſhe had ſprung from the moſt lawful and moſt illuſtrious alliance.

Charles

Digitized by Google

Charles had ſtill other equally powerful motives to keep in amity with the ſovereign pontiff. Henry VIII. had married his aunt, and under pretence of conſcience endeavoured to extricate himſelf from a marriage, that for various reaſons he could no longer endure. His ardent deſire to marry lady Ann Boleyn was the principal. This the emperor beheld with indignation, not brooking that his relation ſhould be divorced to make room for a private gentlewoman; he conſequently did all in his power to win the pope to his intereſt, as, without the concurrence of the court of Rome, he flattered himſelf a divorce could not be procured; but Henry, haughty and impatient, was tired with the ſtudied delays of Clement, and threw off all ſubmiſſion to the Roman ſee, and, by ſo doing, happily extricated himſelf and his ſubjects from a ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion to a foreign power, to a throne formed upon a credulous ſuperſtition.

This event embittered the evening of Clement's

Digitized by Google

Clement's life: upon his return from Marſeilles he informed his friends he had not long to live, and a coffin and other neceſſaries were made by his own deſire for that event, which he ſaw would ſoon happen, for, worn out with a variety of contending paſſions, he found his end faſt approaching, and, with a philoſophy worthy a better character, prepared his mind for his final diſſolution, and "a long farewel to all his greatneſs." He died, December 25, 1534, aged fifty-ſeven years, ten of which he had borne the keys of St. Peter.

It is worthy of remark, that whilſt Clement was cloſing his eyes the corſair Barbaroſſa was ſpreading devaſtation upon the coaſt of the papal dominions, and which ſtruck a terror into Rome itſelf.

In his perſon he was venerable and majeſtic, the former was much increaſed by a vaſt length of beard, for he never ſuffered it to be cut after he became a priſoner, and before his death it reached his girdle—it is ſaid this occaſioned the popes not to

ſhave

Digitized by Google

ſhave their faces, a cuſtom that has remained until theſe few years.

There can be no occaſion for dwelling long upon the character of this pontiff, who experienced as great proſperity and as dreadful misfortunes as have fallen to the lot of any one. The former was chiefly confined to his family, and the latter to his ſucceſſors in the papacy. There it little doubt but that he thought the honours he had procured his houſe more than a recompence for all the unhappineſſes he bequeathed to the church.

Many of the blemiſhes in his character appear to proceed from the heart, but in his political capacity his faults were owing to the jarring intereſts of his miniſters, and to an exceſs of timidity, which ſpoiled a judgment naturally good. His moroſe temper created him many enemies; his gravity and compoſure under the ſevereſt trials, with his promoting the liberal ſciences, were the greateſt qualities he poſſeſſed, and the moſt brilliant features in his character.

There

There is ſomething very amiable in the conſtant regard he ſhewed to the knights of Rhodes, in which body he ſpent ſome years, for he gave them Viterbo for their reſidence after they were diſpoſſeſſed by the infidels, and by his interceſſion with Charles V. they obtained Malta.

The Romans execrated his memory as the author of the greateſt evils they had ever felt. They expreſſed an indecent joy at his death. The portrait of his phyſician, Matthæo Curtius, was painted by an eminent limner, becauſe it was ſuppoſed he haſtened his end by preſcribing a new courſe of diet; this picture was openly expoſed with this blaſphemous application, "Ecce agnus dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi."

Clement's remains were placed near thoſe of Leo X. The ſtatue of his holineſs is by Giovanni Baccio Bigio, that of Leo by Raphael de Monte Lupo, all the other ornaments of their monuments are by Bandinelli.

CHAPTER

Digitized by Google

## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE LIFE OF ALESANDRO, DUKE OF FLORENCE.

THE ardent wiſhes of the Medici were gratified with Aleſandro's having Florence created a duchy, and veſted in him. It has been hinted, that though he paſſed for the ſon of Lorenzo, duke of Urbino, he was believed to be a nearer relation to Clement VII. Lord Corke ſuppoſed he had made a diſcovery in thinking that Aleſandro was the pope's ſon, from an expreſſion of Scipio Ameratto; but had his lordſhip read the extravagant life of Benveneti Cellini, written by himſelf, he would have ſeen it openly mentioned, as a thing univerſally known. Cellini was contemporary with, well knew, and was as well known by both Clement and Aleſandro, living in the ſervice of the Medici for many years, and conſequently was likely to have the



Digitized by Google

beſt information. He regarded not the anger of princes. Ameratto was a courtier to the grand duke, Ferdinand I. who knew the circumſtance, but did not think it convenient to ſpeak plainly. Aleſandro muſt therefore be given as ſon of that grave pontiff, Clement VII. *

It has been ſeen by what means Florence was obtained for Aleſandro. The emperor Charles V. ſigned the inveſtiture at Hagſberg, October 21, 1530, and Aleſandro, who was about the age of twenty †, received poſſeſſion of the republic as its ſovereign duke, July 5, in the following year.

* The Hiſtory of the Grand Maſters of Malta calls Aleſandro the ſon of Lorenzo, duke of Urbino, or, according to others, of Clement himſelf. Sandoval makes ſtrange miſtakes in the Medici genealogy, giving Aleſandro as nephew to Pope Clement, and yet as ſon to a nephew of Lorenzo, duke of Urbino.

† Lork Cork ſays, Aleſandro was born in 1510; a manuſcript, in 1513. Sanderſon gives his election to the duchy, July 29, 1521.

He

Digitized by Google

He had been educated with parental tenderneſs by Clement, who ſpared nothing that could make him worthy of the family, whoſe head he deſigned him. He had not been neglected in the penſions and honours beſtowed by the emperor and the king of France, with liberal hands, upon the relations of that pope. Francis I. gave him the dukedom of Penne, a diſtrict in Upper Languedoc. When Clement had a promiſe that Florence ſhould be changed to a duchy, he did not heſitate a moment in naming him to ſit upon the princely throne.

The emperor, when he conferred upon him the dominions of Florence, made him little better than, what it was pretended he was only to be, hereditary doge or duke. He was indeed to have the power of coinage *, to contract alliances, to make peace and

* The Florentines coined ſilver money as early as the twelfth century. During the republican government it was the right of the gonfalonier, who generally put his arms upon ſome part of it, but never his name. They affected modeſt and religious devices and legends,



Digitized by Google

and declare war; but his authority was put under the controul of a ſenate and council, and, to ſoften the minds of the Florentines and reconcile them to the new form of government, many of the ancient cuſtoms were retained; even the form of ſtiling it

as the Florentine lily, or St. John baptizing Chriſt, with the inſcription, Senatus Populuſq; Florentinus, and for a motto, Jeſus Rex Noſter Et Deus Noſter. Aleſandro gave his head, but not conſtantly, with his baptiſmal and family name, according to the Italian manner, with his titles. He and his ſucceſſors uſed for a motto, Dei Virtus Eſt Nobis. The Medici arms are interwoven generally in ſome parts of the ornaments upon the coins. Aleſandro, upon ſome of his money, has the figures of Coſmo and Damianus; probably they might be his patron ſaints, or thoſe of the Medici. It is obſervable, that at Florence, "in 1252, the firſt gold "coins, ſtruck in Europe after the eighth century, made "their appearance, and were called *florins*, from the flower "of the lily upon them. They were imitated by the popes, "by France, and England. They have on one ſide St. "John the Baptiſt ſtanding, on the other a large *fleur* "*de lis*, and it is not doubted that the French *fleur de lis* "took their origin from theſe coins. They weigh a "drachm, and are no leſs than twenty-four carats fine, "according to Italian writers, and are worth about twelve "ſhillings."

the

Digitized by Google

the republic of Florence was ſtill obſerved; but as there were no effectual barriers to prevent his breaking in upon theſe regulations, the people were rather amuſed with words, than any ſolid advantages left them.

Aleſandro, young and violent, protected too by ſuch powerful friends, having built a citadel, containing more than a mile and a half in compaſs, to overawe his ſubjects, ſoon forgot all the admonitions of wiſdom, giving a looſe to his unbounded paſſion for governing without any reſtrictions, and he was equally unguarded in his pleaſures.

The Florentines, feeling the weight of their chains, complained of his behaviour to the emperor, at Barcelona, juſt as he was going to Tunis. Aleſandro went to Charles, when at Naples, to exculpate himſelf; his imperial majeſty received him, February 29, 1533, and he explained himſelf ſo much to his ſatisfaction, that he promiſed him not only his protection, but ratified the former treaty, aſſuring him that he would beſtow upon him his daughter



Digitized by Google

Margaret, when ſhe ſhould become of a proper age to be married.

To do Aleſandro, his future ſon-in-law, the more honour, he paid him a viſit in his capital. Charles made his public entrance into Florence, April 26 following, and received the keys of the city, expreſſive of gratitude and obedience; but they were no ſooner preſented, than they were reſtored to the duke.

The emperor, upon his return from his ſucceſsful expedition, gave Margaret to Aleſandro, celebrating the marriage with vaſt ſplendor at Naples; though ſhe was then far too young to have the marriage fully conſummated, yet Aleſandro returned with her to Florence, where ſhe was treated as ducheſs of Florence.

Margaret's mother was the daughter of a gentleman of the family of Van Geſte, of Oudenard, in Flanders, by Mary Coquambe, both of them perſons of rank. They dying of the plague when their daughter was an infant, ſhe was educated by Count de Hockſtrate.

Digitized by Google

Hockſtrate. Charles was captivated with her at a ball, and the ducheſs of Florence was the product of his paſſion.

She was a rich alliance for Aleſandro, for, beſides bringing him the dukedom of Florence, which ſhe might with much juſtice be ſaid to have done, he had valuables with her to a great amount, beſides an annual penſion of twenty thouſand pounds, no inconſiderable addition, at that period, to the revenue of a prince.

The young duke deſpiſed all the remonſtances of the Florentines. So powerful were his friends, that he feared nothing from their hatred to him, but he dreaded the dangerous ambition of one of his own family; this was cardinal Medici. He was a perſon of great underſtanding, of no little conſequence, and as his hiſtory relates much to Aleſandro, the principal parts of his extraordinary life ſhall be given.

Hyppolito de Medici was the natural ſon of Julian duke of Nemours, by a lady of Urbino; he was born April 19, 1511.



Digitized by Google

According to the cuſtoms of his family, though illegitimate, he was educated with the utmoſt tenderneſs and care at Rome, under the eyes of Pope Leo X. and Clement VII.; he gave early indications of uncommon vivacity and judgment. His manners were extremely elegant, his perſon was pleaſing, except that his legs were not perfectly ſtrait. He had been greatly exaſperated at the preference Clement had given to Aleſandro; his ambition diſcovered itſelf upon every occaſion: the pontiff ſaw this with great uneaſineſs, and to ſecure Hyppolito from harbouring any criminal thoughts againſt his ſon, obliged him, much againſt his inclination, to quit the profeſſion of arms, and go into the church, where he became archbiſhop of Avignon.

The pope created him a cardinal, January 10, 1529, and ſent him as legate into Germany to the court of Charles V. who probably was requeſted to watch him, and prevent his return without leave. Some time afterwards the emperor went to Italy, and

Digitized by Google

and the young cardinal regarding arms more than his preſent profeſſion, appeared in the habiliments of war, and out of youthful vanity went with ſeveral other perſons of conſequence before the emperor, whoſe ſuſpicions were always awake, and concluding that ſome treachery was deſigned, ordered Hyppolito to be arreſted.

This juvenile frolic being explained, he obtained his freedom, and was ſuffered to go into the dominions of the church, and he acted in ſuch a ſteady and prudent manner, that to him was given the office of protecting the coaſts of the holy ſee, then invaded by Barbaroſſa, whoſe depredations cauſed a univerſal alarm, as there were no more than two hundred of the papal guards to defend the country from the fury of this ferocious infidel. Barbaroſſa did not wait for his coming, ſo that he returned to Florence without having had occaſion to riſk his own perſon, or the troops under his command.

As the conclave was then ſitting to elect a ſucceſſor

Digitized by Google

a ſucceſſor to his relation Clement, he aſſiſted in the choice of Paul III. who, however, very unhandſomely refuſed the legatinate of Ancona, which had been promiſed him by the conclave; after this he retired to Florence.

It had been with difficulty that Clement had cauſed him to be reconciled to Aleſandro: it was only a compliment, without the intention of either to remain friends longer than an opportunity offered for effectually ruining the other.

Hyppolito hated and envied Aleſandro; the duke equally deteſted and feared the cardinal. He knew his ſacred office might be laid down, and that Hyppolito wiſhed for nothing more than an opportunity to do it. His inclination, he knew, led him to a married life, becauſe it had been with great concern that Hyppolito could be prevailed upon to give up the alliance with Iſabella, the heireſs of Veſpatiano Colonni, who had bequeathed this lady to him.

Every paſſion of the ſoul was injured, in Hyppolito's

Digitized by Google

Hyppolito's apprehenſion, by Aleſandro's elevation, and the prince ſaw every thing in danger ſo long as the cardinal lived, each therefore reſolved to deſtroy his rival; Clement's authority alone prevented the death of one of them. The death of that pontiff left each to act as he choſe, and both employed themſelves in the means to accompliſh their wiſhes.

Aleſandro was ſurrounded by his guards, and Hyppolito entertained in his palace a vaſt multitude; the unfortunate and the guilty found an equal aſylum; affording protection to men of every nation that ſought it; he was ſometimes addreſſed by his inmates in twenty different languages: amongſt this concourſe were perſons of the moſt flagitious wickedneſs, who would not ſcruple at the perpetration of any crime, how odious and deteſtable ſoever it might be.

With ſome of theſe, he laid a plan of deſtroying the duke by a mine; but the deſign was happily diſcovered, and Octaviano Zanga,

Digitized by Google

Zanga, one of the guards, was put under arreſt as a principal accomplice. His aim being detected, he found it neceſſary to remove from Florence to avoid the vengeance of his exaſperated relation; leaving the territories of the republic, he retired to a caſtle near Tivoli, in the papal dominions, but probably not ſuppoſing himſelf ſafe there, he deſigned to go to Naples, or, as others ſuppoſe, with Charles V. to Tunis, in Africa. At Itri, in the territory of Fondi, he was ſtopped with a ſevere illneſs, occaſioned either by agitation of mind, the badneſs of the air in that part of the kingdom, or, as it is generally believed, by poiſon, and which proved fatal, Auguſt 13 or 30, 1535, in the twenty-fourth year of his age. To the character of this extraordinary man it may be ſubjoined, that he divided his time between the theatre, hunting, poetry, and muſic; he was a perſon of great abilities, and had made conſiderable proficiency in poetry and muſic, and tranſlated Virgil's Æneas into the Tuſcan language. He deteſted his clerical functions; his whole

conduct

Digitized by Google

conduct ſhewed him more fit for arms, to which he was ſo devoted, that he conſtantly wore a ſword, and never his cardinal's robes, unleſs any public ceremony particularly demanded it. Aſdrubal, his natural ſon, became a knight of Malta, and died in that iſland in 1565.

The childhood of Aleſandro's ducheſs was a great misfortune to him; he was naturally of an amorous complection, and Clement's death removing all fear of reproach, and Hyppolito's of a dangerous rival, he ſoon fell into the greateſt exceſſes; he diſregarded the wiſdom of his wiſeſt anceſtors, who endeavoured to conciliate the love and regard of the Florentines.

He, young and violent, gave up the reins to his paſſions, which carried him to the moſt criminal lengths: his debaucheries were exceſſive, and inſtead of hiding his defects, he ſeemed to glory in them. This gave univerſal diſguſt. The Florentines were tenacious to a proverb of the modeſty of their women; the matrons were retired

in

Digitized by Google

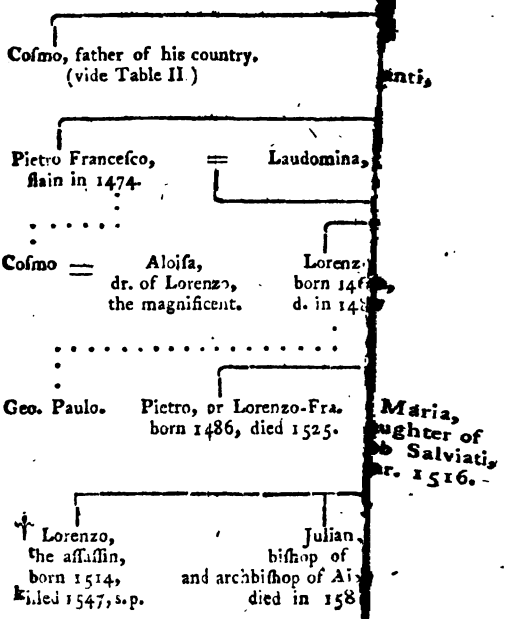
in their manners, and plain in their dreſs, ſeldom wearing any other colour than black when they came to the age of fifty, and their young women were excluded from the ſight of all but thoſe of their own ſex, and their neareſt relations of the other, in theſe reſpects acting totally oppoſite to the Venetian ladies: unheedful of this, the virgin, the matron, were alike obliged to ſubmit to Aleſandro's embraces; he even violated the ſacred walls of the religious to pamper his ungovernable appetite. The people had been frugal, their habits of living bordering upon penurioufneſs; the duke was extravagant. He was ſevere in his adminiſtration, and treated them not as conciliating their love to the government of a ſingle perſon, but as a deſpot, a conduct equally unjuſt and impolitic, and particularly odious and offenſive to a people, who, from an extravagant idea of independence, had been called Bizzari by the reſt of Italy, which ſignifies "wild heads," from their conſtant deſire of changing their governors.

It

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

TABLE III. — [*to face p.* 207.]


Cosmo, father of his country.
(vide Table II.)
Pietro Francesco, slain in 1474.
Laudomina,
Cosmo
Aloisa, dr. of Lorenzo, the magnificent.
Geo. Paulo.
Pietro, or Lorenzo-Fra. born 1486, died 1525.
Lorenzo, the assassin, born 1514, killed 1547, s.p.
Julian, bishop of
died in 158

Digitized by Google

It cannot therefore be wondered at that the Florentines ſighed in ſecret for an opportunity of breaking the yoke that ſo ſeverely galled them. Oppoſition ſeemed vain; but there aroſe an avenger of their wrongs, where one could not have been expected.

Amongſt the duke's confidants and minions of his pleaſure was Lorenzo de Medici, the next heir of his family, and the repreſentative of the ſecond branch of his houſe. He was only twenty-two years old, being younger by nearly four years than his ſovereign, and far more debauched; he is reported to have been ſo effeminate, that the ſight of a ſword made him tremble; yet this man undertook to deſtroy his prince, relation, and patron; he had no other motive for gaining his confidence than to ruin him.

Lorenzo's two ſiſters were married to two of the ſons of Giovanni Baptiſta Strozzi, ſurnamed Philippo, a nobleman of vaſt wealth, who, in the magnificence of reſidence and riches vied with, and in the antiquity

Digitized by Google

tiquity of his family excelled the Medici; and diſdaining to ſubmit to them, he adopted republican principles, and determined, if poſſible, to reſtore the commonwealth to its ancient form of government. He had married Clariſſa, the daughter of Pietro, the Unfortunate, and ſiſter to Lorenzo, duke of Urbino. This ſtern patriot looking upon Lorenzo now, as making, as it were, a part of his family, endeavoured to inſtil theſe ſentiments into the mind of the young man, who hated the duke, and thought, that if any ſovereign power had been given to the Medici, he, the legitimate offspring, and neareſt in blood to thoſe who had governed the Florentine commonwealth, was moſt entitled to it. As he could not become a prince, he reſolved to be a patriot; amongſt the republicans he affected to ſtile himſelf Lorenzo, the Popular, and promiſed them he would be a third Brutus.

By his artifice and baſeneſs in complying with all the criminal deſires of Aleſandro, he ſo entirely won his regard, that the duke was

Digitized by Google

was miſerable when he was abſent. That they might meet in greater privacy, and without ceremony, a communication was made between the palace of Aleſandro and the houſe of Lorenzo; their ſituation made this eaſy to be done, ſo that they could viſit without obſervation; and the duke, by this contrivance, was enabled to viſit ſuch ladies as this infamous wretch procured him, he conducting them conſtantly to his own apartments, and not to Aleſandro's.

There was a lady of the firſt rank in Florence, who was as chaſte as beautiful. Aleſandro, through Lorenzo, had tried all his blandiſhments to procure her favours, but in vain; ſhe was proof againſt every temptation. This only heightened Aleſandro's attachment.

At length Lorenzo brought him the joyful news, that ſhe had overcome all her ſcruples, being won by the youth and gallantry of her ſovereign, and that upon the evening he named ſhe would ſleep in Lo-



Digitized by Google

renzo's palace, the uſual ſcene of Aleſandro's amours.

Judge the pleaſure the duke had in thinking that he had ſoftened the heart of his fair enſlaver; impatient for the happy moment, he went to his friend's reſidence, where he was received by Lorenzo, who conducted him, unattended, to an apartment fitted up for the purpoſes of retirement and ſecrecy, and then left him, as he ſaid, only for a moment, to lead into the chamber the particular object of his paſſion.

The duke threw himſelf upon a bed, the door gently opened, when he expected to receive in his arms the moſt beautiful woman in Florence, but he found, inſtead of the ſoft conflict of love, the furious aſſaults of Lorenzo and an hired aſſaſſin. The aſtoniſhed and affrighted prince ſprung from his bed, exclaiming, "Is this the manner "in which you keep your engagements." Though the conteſt was unequal, Aleſandro defended himſelf with great courage and bravery, until at length, unable to ſup-

port

port himſelf any longer, he ſunk covered with twenty wounds. The aſſaſſins locked the door, and retired.

This infamous murder was acted ſo privately, that there was no fear of an immediate diſcovery, eſpecially as the duke often ſpent whole evenings at Lorenzo's; but this monſter of ingratitude, ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at the crime he had committed, had not courage either to take the neceſſary ſteps to ſucceed Aleſandro in the ſovereignty, of which perhaps he might have had thoughts, or to publiſh liberty to the people.

On the contrary, like an affrighted ruffian, he inſtantly left the ſcene of violence, and by his nearneſs to, and the reliance placed in him by the ſovereign, the governor of the city eaſily accepted what he was pleaſed to tell him, as an excuſe for leaving Florence ſo late in the evening.

The morning diſcovered his villainy; Aleſandro was miſſing. It was known he had been at Lorenzo's in the evening; the



Digitized by Google

apartment was broken open, and discovered the murdered duke.

Thus fell Alesandro, in the midst of his own capital, in the residence of his relation and bosom friend. A few only commiserated his fate, and that alone on account of his youth, or the manner of his death. This infamous murder, which has scarcely its parallel in atrocity, was perpetrated on the night between the fifth and sixth of January 1537, when he had lived not more than twenty-five years, and governed Florence only six.

Sandoval says, he was "a person of excellent behaviour, and obliging, by which "means he had gained the affections of the "Florentines, though he was their *first* "duke, and consequently the first they "thought had usurped upon their liberties." He allows that he was profligate in his manners. It was indeed vastly *excellent* and *obliging* to the good people of Florence to intrigue with their wives and daughters. The Medici had, as often as they could,



Digitized by Google

conſtantly uſurped upon the liberties of the republic. Sandoval wrote his book for Spain, and Aleſandro was the ſon-in-law of Charles, his ſovereign.

It is, however, certain, that Aleſandro poſſeſſed ſome abilities, but they were obſcured by his vices; vices which too generally attend youth. What a longer life would have produced is impoſſible to know. His fate verifies the proverb, that tyrants have no real friends, and that power often vitiates many naturally amiable characters, at leaſt it very greatly tends that way.

The republicans, after loading Aleſandro's memory with execrations, ſtiled Lorenzo the Brutus of Florence, and declared their country again a free ſtate; and as Aleſandro was the laſt of the line of the eldeſt branch, except the two illegitimate infants, the ſons of Aleſandro and Hyppolito; and Lorenzo the repreſentative of the ſecond, become from neceſſity the aſſertor of liberty, the Medici ſeemed levelled to the condition of ſubjects.



Digitized by Google

Julius, the natural ſon of the duke, became admiral of the order of St. Stephen; he left a ſon named Coſmo, who, by Lucretia Cajetana, had Angelica, firſt wife of Peter, duke of Altemps and Galeſio. Aleſandro had alſo two natural daughters; Julia, who was twice married, firſt, to Franceſco Cantelmo, duke of Popoli, and ſecondly, to Bernardo de Medici, baron of Ottogano; from this latter marriage deſcend the princes of that line. Portia, the other daughter of Aleſandro, became a nun.

As a cloſe to this branch of the Medici, it may not be improper to take a retroſpective view of the various revolutions their hiſtory has afforded. The lives of Giovanni de Medici, the founder of their greatneſs, have been given, who, by raiſing the power of the people in oppoſition to that of the nobles, gained a greater aſcendancy than was conſiſtent with a republic; of Coſmo who was driven from his country, more from the affection the people entertained for him, than for any crime he had

Digitized by Google

had committed; of Pietro, who, by next to a miracle, ſaved his own life and his family from exile; of Lorenzo the Magnificent, whoſe deſtruction was meditated by the pope, the Pazzi, and the king of Naples; of Pietro, his ſon, who was driven from Florence, and his family proſcribed; of the cardinal Giovanni, who, after twenty years baniſhment, procured his own, and that of the Medici's return, through the patronage of, and by the arms of Julius II. nephew to that Sixtus who had been the author of that plot againſt the life of his father and uncle.

Giovanni having uſurped the government of Florence, and been exalted to the papacy by the name of Leo X. raiſed his relations to principalities, and allied them to the blood royal of France. Clement VII. who, though illegitimate, procured the tiara, and from the height of worldly grandeur became a priſoner to his cruelleſt enemies, and ſoon after loſt Florence; but by a fate as extraordinary as marks the character of



Digitized by Google

any, not only regained his liberty and power, but alſo added to it the ſettled hereditary dignity of duke, to his natural ſon, and likewiſe married his grand niece to a prince, who was but one remove from the royal dignity, and ſhe, by the death of her huſband's eldeſt brother, became dauphineſs, and afterwards queen, and thrice regent in the minorities of her ſons, who ſucceſſively became kings of France.

Laſtly, that Aleſandro, who, although the natural ſon of an illegitimate father, and he a pope, became the founder of a dukedom, by the patronage of that emperor, who had ſo lately taken his father priſoner, and plundered Rome, and, to confer a ſtill farther obligation, had given him his natural daughter, whom he doted upon with more than parental fondneſs. Yet this prince, who ſeemed to be eſtabliſhed in power upon the moſt ſolid baſis, was murdered by his relation, friend, and confidant, whom of all men ſeemed to be moſt indebted to him, and by whoſe death Florence was again freed

freed from that yoke, which was insupportable to a free people.

Can there be, in the history of any nation or family, produced such striking revolutions and uncommon occurrences, in the lives of eight successive persons in the space of little more than a century. Their misfortunes were great, but their successes far exceeded them. Every one of their disasters raised them to a higher pitch of grandeur. They were the reverse of the Stuarts. The reason is obvious; the Medici possessed unbounded political abilities, in which the Stuarts were so entirely deficient.

CHAPTER

Digitized by Google

## CHAPTER XIV.

### THE LIFE OF COSMO I. GRAND DUKE OF TUSCANY.

IT will be proper to take a view of the ſtate of the family of Medici at the time of Aleſandro's murder. The eldeſt branch, in the male line, deſcended from Coſmo, Father of his Country, expired in that duke, except two natural children, one of his, and another of cardinal Hyppolito's, both of whom were infants. Recourſe muſt then be had to the ſecond branch of the Medici. *

Lorenzo, the younger brother of Coſmo, Father of his Country, was born in 1394, and died September 23, 1440, very deſervedly regretted by the Florentines. By Generva, the daughter of Giovanni Cavalcanti, he had two ſons, 1. Pietro Franciſco,

* For dates, and ſome illegitimate children, the reader is directed to the annexed genealogy.

and

Digitized by Google

and 2. Franceſco, who died before his father.

Pietro Franciſco was ſlain in 1474; he married Laudomina, daughter of Agnolo Acciavoli, by whom he had alſo two ſons; 1. Lorenzo, and 2. Giovanni, or Julian. Lorenzo died in 1486, leaving by his wife Lemerinis, daughter of Jacobo Apiana, Lord of Piombino, two ſons and one daughter; 1. Pietro, or Lorenzo-Franceſco, 2. Averardo, who left no child, and 3. Laudomina, married to Franceſco-Salviati. Pietro, or Lorenzo-Franceſco, died in 1525; he married Maria, the daughter of Tomaſo-Sodorini; the iſſue of which marriage was, two ſons and two daughters; 1. Lorenzo, the aſſaſſin, the duke's murderer; 2. Julian, biſhop of Berry and archbiſhop of Aix, both in France, he died in 1588; 3. Laudomina, married to Pietro-Strozzi, ſon of Philippo; 4. Maddelena, who became the wife of Roberto-Strozzi, the brother of her ſiſter's huſband, and who, as well as her father, became conſpirators,

ſpirators, with her brother Lorenzo, againſt duke Aleſandro. They ſerved in France when they were driven out of Florence; Pietro became a marſhal of that kingdom, and Roberto diſtinguiſhed himſelf in her navy; both poſſeſſing more wealth than any two ſubjects in Europe.

Giovanni, or Julian, the younger ſon of Pietro-Franceſco, was born in 1467. He was the moſt beautiful youth in Florence. Pietro, the Unfortunate, having proſcribed him, he was a principal in that revolution which expelled him the republic. He died in 1498, having married Catherina the daughter of Galeazo Sforza, duke of Milan, and widow of Hieronimo Riario, lord of Imola, a lady remarkable for her maſculine ſpirit. The iſſue of this alliance was an only child, a ſon, named Ludovico, or Giovanni.

Ludovico, or Giovanni de Medici, was educated, by his father-in-law, to arms, and from his valour and knowledge in the military ſcience, deſervedly ſurnamed the Invincible. He was appointed commander of that

Digitized by Google

that army Lorenzo and pope Leo ſent againſt Franceſco-Maria, duke of Urbino. He next entered into the ſervice of the French monarch, Francis I. but his majeſty ſtriving to diſpoſſeſs his maternal relations, the Sforzi of Milan, he commanded an army for duke Franceſco; however, as a ſoldier of fortune, when that prince was ruined by the arms of France, it did not prevent his joining his moſt chriſtian majeſty, in his war with the pope and the Venetians, againſt the emperor Charles V. In a battle fought at Governola, a ſmall town in the Mantuan territory, he received a wound, by a muſket ball, in his knee, which rendered amputation neceſſary; he was carried to Mantua, from which it was diſtant twelve miles, and where the operation was performed. When he was told that ſome perſon muſt be provided to ſupport him whilſt it was done, taking a candle to hold to the ſurgeon, he ſaid, "Proceed "without fear, I need no body." The fever which followed the loſs of his limb carried him off, November 19, 1526, when he

Digitized by Google

he had lived only twenty-eight years. He was buried in the cathedral church of Milan. The allied powers in him loſt an able officer, and Italy one of the beſt generals ſhe ever gave birth to. In his perſon he was above the middle ſtature, and proportionably ſtrong and athletic. None lamented his death more than his ſoldiers; to expreſs their grief for that event, they aſſumed a mourning dreſs, and even their ſtandards were of the ſame colour. Thoſe Tuſcan troops he had commanded were called, from this circumſtance, "The black band." In 1516, he married Maria Salviati, whom he left a widow, with an only child, named Coſmo. He, from the crimes of Lorenzo his ſecond couſin, and the connections they had formed with the republican family of Strozzi, was eſteemed by the friends of Medicean intereſt in Florence, as having a right to be deemed the heir of their greatneſs.

From the ſituation of the Medici at this period, let us return to examine the ſtate of

Digitized by Google

of Florence. No ſooner was Aleſandro's violent death known, than the city was inſtantly divided; many looked upon the cataſtrophe as the moſt fortunate of events, flattering themſelves that it would extricate them from a ſlavery they thought inſupportable. Even the emperor, they ſuppoſed, would not be diſpleaſed in their reſtoring Florence to a free government.

Others, however, were not ſo ſanguine; they had lately experienced the dire vengeance of the Imperial arms, and dreaded a ſimilar chaſtiſement. The friends of the Medici they alſo knew were not inconſiderable, and many of them, from fear of proſcriptions, confiſcations, and baniſhment, wiſhed to ſubmit to, and wait with patience the deciſion of the emperor.

The news of the tragedy was ſoon ſpread far and wide, and every party ſeemed active to profit by it. The moment the three cardinals of Florence knew it, they inſtantly quitted Rome to haſten to the city, and in their way thither they raiſed what forces they

Digitized by Google

they could, determined to eſpouſe the cauſe of freedom; but as they drew towards Florence, a deputation was ſent, requeſting them to leave their army, and come into the city, where they would receive the greateſt ſatisfaction by what was deſigned.

Leaving their troops at Cortona, they came with only their private attendants. The Medicean party uſed all the arts they could to continue to amuſe them, until they had gained ſufficient time, when they plainly refuſed to comply with their requeſt, in reſtoring the ancient government, until the ſenſe of the whole city ſhould be taken. They had no means of enforcing them now, becauſe their perſons were hoſtages, and they were obliged to comply with the requiſitions made to them of diſbanding their forces; having done this, they were permitted to retire, when they ought to have been detained, but the fear of offending the papacy prevailed. Leaving Florence, they joined the republicans.

Aleſandro Vitelli, a general of eminence in

in the Imperial ſervice, hearing of the death of the duke, alſo haſtened to Florence, and thinking it was his duty to take care of Charles's intereſt, went to the citadel which the late prince had built, and began to converſe with the governor, and at length inſinuated himſelf ſo far into his eſteem as to be admitted, with ſome choice troops, who ſeemed to attend him rather for ſhow than uſe; when, inſtead of being a viſitor, he commanded obedience as the emperor's governor. All authority having expired by the late duke's death, and the fear of offending ſo great a monarch, conſpired to make the governor reſign his poſt to Vitelli, who now had the fate of Florence in his hands, at leaſt until Charles V. could be conſulted. He, however, was won over to the intereſt of the Medici, though not ſo greatly as to ſurrender the citadel, the obtaining and keeping of which was ſo acceptable to the emperor, that he rewarded him with very conſiderable eſtates in Naples.



Digitized by Google

The relations of the Medici were divided in ſentiments, ſome favoured the public liberty, and joined the popular party under Lorenzo, who paſſed amongſt ſome of them as the moſt diſintereſted of men. Some thought the title of duke too dangerous for any to accept. Envy and jealouſy were harboured by others, who could not be happy to have a relation raiſed ſo much above them.

The reſpectable widow of the invincible general de Medici, of the illuſtrious houſe of Salviati, which had given ſeveral gonfaloniers to Florence and cardinals to Rome *, reſided at Trebia, a lordſhip of the Medici; here ſhe occupied her time in having her only child's education completed.

Coſmo, her ſon, was born June 11, 1519, and conſequently at this time was only eighteen years of age; he had made great

* Maria Salviati, Coſmo's mother, purchaſed the palace Pitti; ſhe lived until 1543. The Salviati became after this time lords, marquiſſes, and laſtly dukes of Grotta Marazza.

progreſs

Digitized by Google

progreſs in his ſtudies, he ſeemed to join the learning and love of ſcience, and a knowledge of the fine arts, which had ſo generally diſtinguiſhed the eldeſt branch of the Medici, to all that valour which had rendered his father ſo illuſtrious; his prudence was equal to his other great qualities, and he rivalled Lorenzo the Magnificent in oratory.

No ſooner had Aleſandro's death reached him, than, fired with ambition and the hope of ſovereignty, he privately left his young acquaintance, and immediately haſtened to the capital, contrary to the moſt earneſt intreaties and expoſtulations of his parent, who wept over him, and the ſolicitations of many of thoſe friends who aſſembled around him.

Preſenting himſelf before the ſenate, he requeſted to be acknowledged ſucceſſor to Aleſandro, ſolemnly declaring to be governed by their direction, to yield obedience to the laws, and be content with an annual revenue of twelve thouſand crowns. His graceful deportment, engaging perſon,



Digitized by Google

his rhetoric, condeſcenſion, and affability, joined to the perſuaſive arguments of his numerous and reſpectable relations and friends, obtained from the ſenators more than a patient hearing.

The troops under Vitelli which ſurrounded the palazzo, and the fear of a civil war, joined with the emperor's anger, and the dread of a conqueror's rage, were ſtronger motives than all the accompliſhments and fine promiſes of Coſmo, to comply with his requeſt, in ſaluting him, January 9, 1536, duke and governor of the Florentine republic, and upon his great ſeal, at leaſt ſo late as 1545, his titles only ran COSMUS MEDICES REI. P. FLORE. DVX II. It is ſurmounted, like Aleſandro's, with a circled coronet, without any croſſes, fleur dis, leaves, or pearls.

Nothing was ever more prepoſterous than the conduct of the republicans; at a moment when they ſhould have been particularly active, they ſeemed aſhamed of their guilt, and

Digitized by Google

and dreading punishment, they left the city open to their enemies.

This seemed a desertion of that cause for which Alessandro had been sacrificed; but though they had left Florence, they did not forsake the design of re-establishing the government upon its ancient footing, and they were too powerful and too numerous to be held in contempt. What part Charles V. would take was uncertain; Catherine, queen of France, was the avowed friend of Lorenzo and the popular party, though it seemed injuring her consequence, in depriving the Medici of the rank of princes, by levelling them to the station of private citizens.

Cosmo's situation was therefore precarious, if not very dangerous, but he displayed as much prudence in securing, as he had done courage in obtaining the government; no opportunity was lost, no advantage omitted.

The republicans obtaining assistance from France, occasioned the emperor to declare

himſelf his protector, from fear of his opponent obtaining ſo conſiderable an ally as Florence. More therefore to mortify France, than from regard to Coſmo, he confirmed what the ſenate had done, inveſting him with all the prerogatives Aleſandro had poſſeſſed, and the imperial generals were ordered to give him every aſſiſtance.

The young duke, farther to unite himſelf with his majeſty, ſolicited the hand of his daughter, the virgin widow of his predeceſſor; Charles refuſed this requeſt, he knew Coſmo from intereſt muſt prove a ſincere ally; to pleaſe the pope, Paul III. he gave her to his grandſon, Aleſandro, duke of Parma, who became ſo famous afterwards for his valour and ſkill in war; whom ſurviving, ſhe was entruſted with the government of the Netherlands for many years: ſhe was uncommonly maſculine and coarſe in her appearance, but ſenſible and prudent. She remarked, upon her father's marrying her to the duke of Parma, that when a child ſhe was married to a man, and now ſhe was become a woman,



Digitized by Google

the was given to a boy. Cosmo, though disappointed in a refusal of Margaret, obtained a seasonable alliance with Eleanora, the daughter of the viceroy of Naples; a part of the fortune of four hundred thousand ducats which she brought, purchased of the emperor the citadel of Florence, which insured his quiet dominion, and fully established the pre-eminence of his power.

Fearful of the malecontents within Florence declaring for the republicans without, he chose to run the hazard of having them join the army of his enemies, rather than risk the mischiefs they could do him where they were. The republicans by this means increased their army, and it amounted to four thousand men; each party was animated with an inveterate hatred to the other, branding their antagonists with the most odious names. The republicans called Cosmo's party betrayers of their country, and their enemies in return loaded them with the names of parricides and rebels.



Digitized by Google

After various ſkirmiſhes, which only ſtrengthened their mutual hatred, the contending factions met at Marona, the one anxious for dominion, the other deſirous of obtaining liberty, and both inflamed by rancor, and deſirous of revenge.

Fortune for ſome time wavered, but at length declared for the duke. Many, conſcious that mercy would not be granted, and aſhamed to fly, fought, regardleſs of danger, determining to die bravely, as they could not live honourably. This was a ſatisfaction few of the moſt conſiderable of them could experience. The ſoldiers were commanded to take priſoners, not to put to the ſword.

Thoſe that fell into their enemies hands were led into Florence in the moſt contemptuous manner. Many were put to death with all the inſults and indignities that youthful vengeance could ſuggeſt; ſeveral were led to execution upon aſſes, and in remembrance of the deſtruction of the enemies of the Medici, annual faces of

thoſe

Digitized by Google

thoſe animals were inſtituted, and which ſtill continue.

Lorenzo, the aſſaſſin, eſcaped from the battle, and fled to Venice to join ſome of the other unhappy nobles that had ſought protection there, but finding himſelf not ſafe in that city removed to Conſtantinople; Coſmo's ſpies tracing him there, and aiming to take him off, he returned to Venice, where he fell a deſerved victim to his own infamous parricide, in 1557, ten years after he had committed one of the moſt deteſtable acts that has ever ſtained the character of man. The perſons who effected his death, and the manner of their doing it, are, if poſſible, more extraordinary than the length of time elapſed ſince Aleſandro's; for he fell by the hands of two ſoldiers, one of whom had been in the prince's guard; and ſo much were they pleaſed with the opportunity of revenging the duke's murder, that they refuſed to accept the large ſum Coſmo had ſet upon the head of this his devoted relation. Happily Lorenzo left no child. It muſt be confeſſed

confeſſed that he had conſiderable abilities, loved men of ſcience, and promoted learning. He wrote Lamenti, publiſhed at Modena in 12mo. and Acidoſio Commedia, printed at Florence in 1595, in the ſame ſize.

Strozzi, who was amongſt the priſoners, was ſent to the citadel, and at length remained alone of all that were taken. To avoid an ignominious death, he followed the example of the younger Brutus, exhorting his ſons to revenge his death, and to remove his remains into a free ſtate.

He left behind him, upon his chimney-piece, engraved with his dagger, this line of Virgil:

"Exoriare aliquis noſtris ex oſſibus ultor!"

"May ſome avenger from my aſhes riſe!"

The Strozzi fulfilled the latter requeſt, and endeavoured to comply with the former. It is worthy of remark, that Coſmo's deſcendants paid Philippo's memory compliments as public as deſerved: Lorenzo's name is never mentioned but with abhorrence and deteſtation.

A civil

Digitized by Google

A civil war quelled is always attended with great advantages to the ſovereign. Coſmo, well aware of this, ſeized the opportunity of extending his prerogative, of fixing his power in an arbitrary manner, of increaſing his revenue, and cruſhing his enemies, who were now unable to make the leaſt reſiſtance, and Florence again ſaw herſelf completely enſlaved by one of her citizens.

At this criſis Coſmo was ſeated upon a throne, which, though newly, was firmly eſtabliſhed. Inſtead of the revenue of twelve thouſand crowns, for which he had ſtipulated, he is ſaid to have raiſed it to one hundred and twenty thouſand. By confiſcations he gained Poggio Imperiale, Pratolino, and other extenſive landed eſtates, and valuable perſonal effects, which were eſtimated at eighty millions of ſcudi. Still farther to ſecure Florence, he added another citadel to that built by Aleſandro.

The genius of Coſmo expanded with his years, from a private gentleman he became the

Digitized by Google

the firſt prince in Italy, and confeſſedly the wiſeſt and moſt politic in Europe. His frugality was equal to his courage and prudence in other reſpects; he united the character of merchant with that of ſovereign.

Peace ſeemed abſolutely neceſſary, as it was the foundation of commerce, and promiſed to reſtore that ſtrength Florence had loſt by her civil wars, as well as to eſtabliſh and ſettle the new government in ſuch a manner that it might fear no future misfortunes.

Amidſt this wiſhed-for calm, he was moſt juſtly alarmed by France's obtaining the republic of Sienna, which lay contiguous to Florence, and he was convinced of the rooted antipathy the French court bore him, by Pietro, the ſon of Philippo Strozzi, and the brother-in-law of Lorenzo de Medici, having been appointed general of her army in Italy; a man of all others obnoxious to him and his deareſt intereſts.

In the moſt forcible manner he urged to the emperor the abſolute neceſſity there was for

Digitized by Google

for his ſending an army to recover Sienna, the poſſeſſion of which gave ſuch manifeſt advantages to his old and dreaded rival. Charles could not, without the utmoſt concern, ſee France enjoying ſo deſireable a dominion in the heart of Italy, but circumſtanced as he was, he could neither raiſe nor maintain a force ſufficient to drive the French from that ſituation.

The only propoſal that he could make to Coſmo, was for him to undertake the war, and ſtipulated, that if he obtained the territory, he ſhould hold it until the debt, occaſioned by its conqueſt, ſhould be diſcharged. Unhappy Sienna, the ſiſter and rival of Florence, in commerce and in misfortunes! A prey to faction within, and the aim of the Emperor, of France, Coſmo, and the Pope. The two former, under the ſpecious epithet of protector, had alternately robbed her of her treaſure, and deſpoiled her of liberty.

Coſmo, with his uſual prudence, took every precaution before he engaged with ſo powerful

powerful and dangerous an enemy as France. Nothing ſhewed his ſagacity, and the knowledge he had of mankind, more than the means he took to engage the firſt general in Italy in his ſervice, and whom he could ſo well oppoſe to Strozzi, whilſt he remained in his own dominions to keep all quiet there.

In that age of adventure there aroſe John-James Medicini, who, from a miller's ſon, became the commander of an army; this man's mind was not equal to his fortune, at leaſt vanity led captive his underſtanding. Aſhamed of his origin, though a proof of his merit, he affected to be thought of the family of Medici. Coſmo, to win ſo able a commander, inſtantly aſſiſted in the cheat, by owning him his couſin, and the ſimilarity of their names aided the joint wiſhes of both. The one wanted to paſs for a man of birth, by dropping the laſt ſyllable of his name; the other a brave and ſkilful warrior. Coſmo, therefore, owned Medicini his relation, though

though his name or thoſe of his anceſtors formed no part of the genealogy of the Medici.

Medicini, to ſhew his zeal for the ducal family that had adopted him, acted with a conduct ſuperior to what had ſo juſtly entitled him to fame and fortune; and the French general gave him advantages he did not intend, by injuring the cauſe of his royal employer, to gratify on every occaſion that revenge his father had bequeathed to him on marble, engraved with the fatal inſtrument with which he deſtroyed himſelf. Sienna, after as gallant a defence as Florence had made againſt the Medici, under the arms of Clement VII. and Charles V. was obliged to ſubmit to her conqueror, April 22, 1555, and by its ſubjugation Coſmo ruined the French in Italy.

The duke delivered himſelf by theſe means from his moſt powerful and inveterate enemies. The revenues of Sienna afforded an ample intereſt for the money employed in its reduction.

Digitized by Google

reduction. Its conqueſt gave a reputation to his arms, and eſtabliſhed his character as a prince of ſuperior capacity. It raiſed his importance abroad, and ſtruck an awe into the boldeſt at home.

When Coſmo ſaw what vaſt ſacrifices Philip II. the ſon and ſucceſſor of Charles V. in his dominions of Spain, was making, to obtain, or rather to retain allies, he ſo judiciouſly alarmed the fears of this ſuſpicious and unamiable monarch, by opening a treaty with France and the Pope, his implacable and potent enemies, that Philip imagined ſome great and deciſive ſtroke was meditated by thoſe potentates, to wreſt from him ſome of the many provinces he governed.

Coſmo, to give the greater weight to thoſe jealouſies that he had inſtilled into Philip's mind, peremptorily demanded the repayment of the ſums which had been expended in the conqueſt of Sienna, and alſo the other loans he had raiſed for the late emperor's, and his own uſe. The Spaniſh king

king knew the depth of the duke's underſtanding, and fearful of having ſuch an enemy, determined to win him, how great ſoever the ſacrifice might be.

To prevent, therefore, the ratification of a treaty ſo fatal to his intereſt, he propoſed what was the wiſh of Coſmo's heart to obtain; this was the inveſtiture of Sienna, upon the eaſy condition of homage, and ſupplying the crown of Spain with a ſmall body of troops when called upon, in any wars their catholic majeſties ſhould engage in *.

In this manner did the wiſe Coſmo obtain Sienna, not as receiving but conferring a favour, though it was what above all things he deſired, but before probably had

* The emperor retained ſix fortreſſes in Lo Stato Degli Preſidii, which is on the coaſt; their names are Orbitello, Telamone, Porto Hercole, Porto San Stephano, Monte Philippo, and Porte Longone, and were deſigned to facilitate the communication between the Milaneſe and the king of Naples. The emperor was poſſeſſed of four, and the Spaniards of the other two.



Digitized by Google

never dared to hope for, and that too against the ſentiments of all the privy councellers of Spain. Sienna brought him an acceſſion of dominion of nearly fifty miles ſquare, containing its capital of the ſame name, and five other epiſcopal cities, and twenty-ſix walled towns, the whole producing a revenue of one hundred and fifty thouſand crowns. Philip alſo honoured him with the order of the Golden Fleece.

This politic prince likewiſe obtained from Spain Porto Ferrario, in Elba, a ſmall iſland lying upon his coaſt, in ſatisfaction for debts he had lent its ſovereign. Perceiving the vaſt conſequence of traffic, by which his prudent anceſtors had raiſed the Medici from an humble ſtation, and which had elevated him to the rank, if not of the firſt to the moſt reſpectable of the more inferior potentates, he determined to eſtabliſh in his dominions a free port, to which all nations ſhould reſort, without thoſe reſtrictions that injured commerce and impoveriſhed the ſtate. He ſaw that Leghorn,



Digitized by Google

then an inconſiderable place, ſurrounded with an unwholeſome moraſs, was capable of being made every way ſuitable for the purpoſe he deſigned it, and, for an inconſiderable ſum, he purchaſed it of the Genoeſe, and it is now the firſt place of trade in Italy; an advantage of the greateſt magnitude to thoſe ſovereigns who have owned it.

To put a ſtop to the Turkiſh and the African pirates inſulting his coaſts, and which would always be a bar to the trade he meant to eſtabliſh in his dominions, he inſtituted an order of knighthood, reſembling, in a great meaſure, that of Malta; he built a fleet of gallies, which were commanded by theſe knights. Theſe military and religious commanders protected the commerce of his ſubjects, and enriched himſelf by the prizes they took from the enemy. It gave him a force at ſea ſuperior to all Italy; it ſeemed to brave the mightieſt monarchs who were inimical to his intereſt. He joined his forces to Malta when attacked by the puiſſant arms of Solyman the



Digitized by Google

Magnificent, and obliged him to abandon the enterprize he had undertaken. The commanderies annexed to the order, afforded a proviſion for the younger ſons of ennobled families, and kept them from attempts againſt his perſon and government.

Some diſputes aroſe between Coſmo and Alphonſo, duke of Ferrara, about precedency, the navigation of the Po, and the duty upon ſalt. Alphonſo appealed to the emperor Maximilian II. Pope Pius V. claimed the ſole right of deciding theſe points. Coſmo, ever watchful to take advantage of whatever offered, inſtantly ſaw it was his intereſt to lean to the pontiff, and truſt to his award; beſides, his holineſs was the brother of that very Medicino that had been engrafted into the family of Medici, and whoſe elevation he had in a great meaſure procured.

The duke rendered Pius eſſential ſervice by giving ſanction to the council he had called, and which ſat in Trent, and wanted all the protection of the friends of the Roman

Digitized by Google

Roman court to make its decrees reſpected. This condeſcenſion coſt Coſmo very little, but did him the moſt eſſential ſervice; for as he protected the tiara, Pius was determined, in gratitude, to preſent him with a more ſplendid diadem than that he wore; at firſt he meant to confer upon him the title of king, but it raiſed ſo loud an outcry throughout Italy, and met with ſuch oppoſition from Maximilian, who alone thought he had the power of giving titles to princes, and Philip, who could not endure that there ſhould be any other king than himſelf in Italy, that Pius changed his firſt deſign, but, to raiſe him above every other potentate under the rank of a king, he reſolved to create him Grand Duke of Tuſcany. In doing this he not only augmented the papal prerogatives, but increaſed his own perſonal dignity, by exalting a prince his ſuppoſed relation.

Coſmo, to receive this new honour, repaired to Rome, where was provided a ſplendid diadem, which coſt one hundred

and twenty thouſand crowns of gold, it was inſcribed round the rim PIVS V. PONT. MAX. OB EXIMIAM DILECTIONEM ET CATHOLICÆ RELIGIONIS ZELVM PRÆCIPVVM QVÆ JVSTITIÆ STVDIVM DONAVIT. Pius placed it upon his head, March 5, 1570, with the utmoſt ſplendor and magnificence. Upon his return to the Vatican, he was conducted by the cardinals Montalto and Aleſandrino, in one of the pope's coaches.

The populace at the ſame time were entertained with every amuſement poſſible, plays, horſe-races, and tournaments; and ſtill farther to celebrate the occaſion, and compliment the prince, triumphal arches were erected. The ceremony, glorious alike to Rome and Tuſcany, is detailed at ſuch a length as to make a pamphlet.

Coſmo had now attained to higher power and dignity than his moſt ſanguine ambition could have prompted him to hope: he was feared, reſpected, and careſſed by the contemporary princes. The vaſt ſums he

he could command, when ſpecie was ſo ſcarce in Europe, made his alliance eagerly ſought by the greateſt monarchs. Charles V. was indebted to him for loans of money, troops, and ſhipping, in his wars with the Proteſtants, Turks, and Algerines. He formed a regular body of forces, and his gallies performed the moſt gallant ſervices, and conſpicuouſly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the famed battle of Lepanto.

Henry VIII. admired and ſupported Coſmo with his purſe. Though his majeſty of England may, with juſtice, be accuſed of tyranny, yet his enemies muſt all own that he was a judge of merit, and valued it. Is it not ſingular, that ſo rich a prince as Coſmo, ſhould owe money to ſo extravagant, and, in the end, needy a ſovereign as Henry; yet it is well known that John lord Lumley received £. 11,250, due from Coſmo, with the intereſt that had accrued, and for which queen Elizabeth gave her diſcharge. Coſmo always expreſſed his obligation and attachment to



Digitized by Google

the Engliſh monarch, though Clement VII. had adjudged him an heretic, and as ſuch under the fulminations of the Vatican thunder. In a letter dated June 8, 1545, Coſmo ſtiles Henry "a ſerene and glorious "king, and his ſingular benefactor *."

Amidſt all the ſcenes of war in which he was engaged, all the expences he incurred in purchaſing ſuch ample territories, he was not unmindful of beautifying and adorning his capital, in patroniſing the fine arts, and thoſe that excelled in them; but on the contrary, he exceeded all belief in thoſe reſpects.

He erected ſo many, and ſuch ſuperb ſtructures, ſtatues, and obeliſks, that it was with juſtice that he ſaid, "He found a city "of ſtone, but he left one of marble." He augmented, or rather reſtored the library Clement VII. had founded. He made Florence "the fair," truly "the mag- "nificent," and it became the ſeat of the

* King Henry VIII. correſponded with Leo X. Clement VII. the duke of Urbino, and Coſmo I.

arts.

Digitized by Google

arts. Men famous in every branch of learning were ſure to find protection, and the moſt ample proviſion in his court. He frequently ſpent his hours amongſt them, and not ſeldom gave them inſtructions in thoſe ſciences they ſo much excelled in. His palaces were as large, more elegant, and better furniſhed than thoſe of the greateſt monarchs: like our ſovereigns, at the back part of one of them he had a collection of lions, tygers, bears, wolves, apes, eagles, and other rare animals.

Nor was this attention paid only to Florence, it extended throughout his dominions. The univerſity and arſenal of Piſa were founded by him. The ſums he expended upon theſe ſeemed immenſe, and muſt appear the more extraordinary at a time when Charles V. who was ſovereign of Germany, Spain, the Netherlands, Mexico, and Peru, was often in the utmoſt diſtreſs for very inconſiderable ſums, and which he could not procure but from Coſmo, who at his death left in his treaſury ten millions

of

of gold ducats, and the value of two millions in precious ſtones, beſides a clear revenue of five hundred thouſand crowns, chiefly ariſing from the tenth part of the real eſtates in Tuſcany.

Such a man appeared juſtly to deſerve the title of "Coſmo the Great." His domeſtic happineſs was for ſome time equal to his other good fortune, he had a numerous family, and his children all promiſed to reflect honour upon him.

The vices of ſome of his offspring, and of himſelf, deſtroyed the ſanguine hopes that might have been entertained of its continuance, for ſad and melancholy relations muſt, in juſtice to truth, be mentioned, which are alike odious to nature, and the God of Nature, which outrage decency and ſhock humanity.

The ſplendor of Coſmo's character had been ſo great, that all the firſt ſovereigns united to raiſe his family to the height of worldly glory. The emperor Maximilian had promiſed to give Franceſco Maria,

the

Digitized by Google

the heir of his fortunes and greatneſs, his daughter, the archduchess Joanna. Philip, king of Spain, had ſent for the young prince to his court, to add ſtill more to his honour, and Pius had given a cardinal's hat to Giovanni, his ſecond ſon, when only ſeventeen years of age, and alſo had conferred upon him the archbiſhopric of Piſa, before he had attained his twentieth year.

Giovanni was a prince of the greateſt expectations, was univerſally reſpected, and would probably, had he lived, been an ornament to his name and family. Garcia, the third ſon, was, ſays Cellini, "a pretty "playful boy," but he was paſſionate and raſh; their tempers were diſſimilar; he had reached his fifteenth year only. The brothers, in purſuing the chace, had ſome altercation; Garcia, impetuous and violent, drew his poignard, and in a moment pierced the cardinal to the heart. They were alone; Garcia, with a preſence of mind above his years, inſtead of being overwhelmed with horror for the fratricide he had committed,

rode

rode away with all the ſpeed his horſe could take him, and joined their attendants.

His brother was miſſing, ſearch was made, and the body of the unhappy Giovanni was ſoon diſcovered. The perpetrator was ſoon known to the ſorrowing parents; for Garcia, young as he was, had endeavoured, by affected ignorance, to remove ſuſpicion, yet the penetration of the father ſoon unveiled the myſtery, and Garcia was repreſented to his imagination as a monſter in nature.

The grief he felt for the loſs of a favourite child, whoſe eſtabliſhment he had procured, and on whom he had fixed his fondeſt hopes, at firſt overwhelmed him. His indignation was, however, too great for ſorrow to mollify.

Garcia was commanded to appear before him, when the incenſed parent, reproaching him with the murder of his brother with all the vehemence that anger could dictate, or fury urge, concluded thus: "I muſt "myſelf revenge the death of the innocent

"by

"by the deſtruction of the guilty, you muſt "give back your life to him that gave it." The proſtrate youth implored for pardon, urging, that he had firſt been ſtruck by Giovanni; but the inflexible parent, alike deaf to his moſt earneſt intreaties and importunities for mercy, and the calls of nature, plunged a dagger into his boſom, and he fell dead at his feet *.

This horrible tranſaction, that deprived the Medici of two princes in a few days, was ſo carefully concealed, that for ſome time it was only known to confidential attendants. A report was carefully ſpread that their deaths were owing to a conta-

* Lord Corke relates that Garcia was killed upon Eaſter Sunday following the aſſaſſination, when, by the perſuaſion of the grand-ducheſs, he knelt to obtain his father's pardon; but all the contemporary authors ſay, that the two brothers died within a few days of each other. Coſmo could have had no thought of concealing the manner of Garcia's death from the world, if he had killed him in ſo public a way; neither in that caſe would it have been decent to have buried him as an innocent perſon, much leſs to have had him ſpoken of in his commendation at his funeral.

gious

gious diſorder, then very prevalent in Tuſcany; to farther impoſe upon the public mind, their bodies were conveyed together, with ſolemn rites, to the cathedral of Florence, where an oration was pronounced to their praiſe, and the more to blind the people, Garcia's merit was moſt particularly inſiſted upon.

The unhappy mother ſunk under ſo ſevere a blow, and ſoon followed her murdered ſons to the grave; but foreign princes either never knew, or did not notice this violence. Pius immediately gave the ſame eccleſiaſtical honours and promotions to Ferdinando, the next brother to Garcia, that Giovanni had enjoyed.

It is not to be wondered at that Coſmo had often forgotten to temper mercy with juſtice, when he did not ſpare the life of his ſupplicating child. The aſſaſſination of Garcia thrills one with horror, yet it was not the worſt of Coſmo's actions.

The grand duke ſought relaxation from buſineſs

buſineſs in the company of ladies; Eleanora Albicia was his declared miſtreſs; yet neither this fair one, not his ſecond wife, whom he choſe only on account of her perſonal attractions, could prevent his carrying his amours to a more criminal length than his predeceſſor Aleſandro ever could. The one defiled the beds of his ſubjects, and violated the cloiſter. Coſmo robbed his daughter Iſabella of her purity.

Perhaps this would have been for ever unknown, had not Vaſari, who was repoſing upon the ſcaffolding of the great hall, the ceiling of which he was painting, been a witneſs of what ſhocks nature to relate, and ſhames even imagination. Judge the artiſt's danger, when the grand duke, finding the ſcaffolding ſtir, ran up to him with a poignard in his hand; he however eſcaped the threatened danger, by pretending ſleep; a prudence ſcarcely to be equalled.

Vaſari finiſhed what he had undertaken, left Tuſcany, and then publiſhed the ſhame

of

Digitized by Google

of the guilty pair. The death of Garcia was but the ſentence of a juſt, though an inflexible judge; the manner of his death, more than the action, hurts our ſenſibility, for this has no excuſe, no palliation. So little were his vices of this deſcription known, that the learned Thomas, who knew the duke perſonally, ſays, "he hath divers fair "children by his wife, and loveth her ſo "well, that in a manner he never goeth "abroad, (unleſs it be to church) without "her, and is reputed to be a very chaſte "man."

What a reverſe are theſe two circumſtances in the fine character before drawn of Coſmo; the likeneſs of Auguſtus, as himſelf was accuſtomed to ſay, and for that reaſon he uſed his device. He had the head of that wiſe prince, but the heart of Caligula.

Coſmo, worn out with a buſy life, perhaps too tortured with remorſe, copying the example of his benefactor Charles V. retired to private life; but exhauſted nature, by

by a lingering illneſs, ſoon after carried him off, April 21, 1571, having lived fifty-five and reigned thirty-eight years.

A contemporary writer of our own nation, who perſonally knew this great man, gives this character of him: "He is learned and "wiſe, he uſeth few words, and is, neverthe- "leſs, in his own tongue eloquent. In the "adminiſtration of juſtice he is ſo ſincere, "that ſince the time of his reign, which is "now above ten years, I have not heard "that he hath pardoned any perſon con- "demned to die. He hath reſtrained a "vice too ſhocking to be named, then more "prevalent in Florence than any other "part of Italy, by ordering it to be pu- "niſhed with pain of death; and hath "brought his eſtate in ſuch quietneſs, as it "hath not been theſe three hundred years; "ſo that Florence may well ſay, that in "him ſhe hath found her long-deſired "liberty. For though he abſolutely hath "the whole revenues to his own uſe, yet "the ſurety that the Florentines have in



Digitized by Google

" their own things, which heretofore they " never had, is more worthy to them " than the common revenue is beneficial " to the city. Finally, the virtue of " this duke Coſmo, beſides the worthi- " neſs of his dominion, as hath brought " him in ſuch reputation, that he is num- " bered as one of the rareſt princes of our " time, and feared alſo as one in whom " there be hid things of a greater moment " than the rule of that only eſtate."

The grand duke twice married, firſt, in 1539, Eleanora, daughter of Pedro de Toteland, marquis of Ville Franca, and viceroy of Naples. She died in 1562. The iſſue of this alliance was ſeven ſons and ſix daughters.

1. Franceſco-Maria, his ſucceſſor.

2. Giovanni, the ill-fated cardinal, and archbiſhop of Piſa, born in 1543, and killed by his brother in 1562.

3. Garcia, born in 1547, put to death by his father's hands in 1562.

4. Antonio,

Digitized by Google

4. Antonio, who died an infant.

5. Pietro, who alſo died in his infancy.

6. Ferdinando, who became a cardinal, and archbiſhop of Piſa, but exchanged his hat for the Eutruſcan diadem, upon his eldeſt brother's death.

7. Pietro, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a general in the ſervice of Spain, and was honoured by that crown with the order of the Golden Fleece, in 1593, appointed alſo high admiral of that kingdom *, and obtained the chancellorſhip of the great order of St. Jago. He died in 1604, leaving no iſſue by either of his wives, who were, Eleanora, daughter of Garcia, marquis of Ville Franca, his maternal uncle, whoſe tragic death, in 1578, will be ſeen in a future page; and Beatrice-Noronica,

* When James duke of York, afterwards the king of Great Britain, was offered, in 1659, to be appointed High Admiral of Spain, he refuſed it, as not ſufficiently honourable, becauſe a younger ſon of Savoy and Tuſcany had enjoyed it.



Digitized by Google

daughter of Emanuel de Manesis, first duke of Villa Real. He had, however, a natural son, Pietro, knight of Malta. Pietro, the father, is buried in a part of the church of St. Lorenzo, in Florence, called Capella di Michael Angelo, or de Prencipi, from its having been built under the direction of that great architect, and from the number of princes buried in it. Pietro's monument, with that of his brother Giovanni, is against the left wall in entering the principal door. It is of marble, decorated with a beautiful bronze foliage of five festoons, the workmanship of Andrea Verrochio.

8. Maria, born 1540, and died in 1557.

9. Lucretia, born in 1542, and married, in 1560, to Alphonso II. duke of Ferrara, who died in 1597.

10. Isabella, born in 1545, and married to Paul-Jordano Orsini, duke of Bracciano. Of whom, and her miserable death, a farther account will be given.

11,

Digitized by Google

11, 12, 13. The three other daughters of Coſmo and Eleanora died in their infancy.

The ſecond wife of the grand duke was Camilla, daughter of Antonio Matelli, a Florentine; ſhe had only one child:

14. Virginia, who was married, in 1585, to Cæſar, duke of Modena; from this union the ſucceeding ſovereigns of that duchy deſcended. She died March 25, 1616, the duke, her huſband, in 1628.

By Eleanora Albicia, his concubine, Coſmo had Giovanni, who was born in 1567. He was created a grandee of Spain, and was a conſpicuous character, eſpecially as a general and politician. He ſerved under Venice and Spain; he commanded in the wars of the latter in France and Hungary, of which for a ſmall time he was governor. He conducted the war in the Netherlands, where he was accuſed of prolonging the conteſt with the Dutch. He more than once was at the court of Henry IV. of France. He received from Mary



Digitized by Google

his queen only reproaches, inſults, and threats, for his diſintereſted advice. His majeſty was ſo pleaſed with his conduct, that when he left France he lent him 36,000 livres, but this was diſcharged by Ferdinando I. his brother. His death happened in 1624. It is ſingular, that though only fifty-ſeven years old, he lived in ſo many as five reigns, his father's, two brothers, nephew's, and great nephew's. He left a natural ſon, Franceſco-Maria, born in 1613.

CHAPTER

Digitized by Google

## CHAPTER XV.

### THE LIFE OF FRANCESCO-MARIA, GRAND DUKE OF TUSCANY.

FRANCESCO-MARIA was born March 25, 1541, and had every advantage that ſo illuſtrious, ſo learned, and ſo elegant a father could give him. His education had not been confined to the walls of Coſmo's palace; he had not only ſeen the politics of Tuſcany, but of other courts, and had been placed in trying and peculiar ſituations, ſo that he had an experience above his years, when he ſucceeded to his father's titles.

He had been ſent firſt to Rome, where he was received by Pius IV. with every mark of reſpect that the pontiff could ſhew him; thence his maternal uncle, Garcias Totelana, conducted him into Spain, to the perſon of Philip II. He remained



Digitized by Google

here for ſome time, and became acquainted with the ſovereign, and principal perſons in the Spaniſh council; a circumſtance of no ſmall advantage, when all Europe, and eſpecially Italy, felt their influence, and dreaded their power.

Franceſco, whilſt in Spain, felt mortified that Aleſandro Farneſe, prince of Parma, then alſo at that court, was allowed precedency before him; the young prince would willingly have yielded it, but as he was the ſon of Margaret, the ſiſter (illegitimate one indeed) of Philip, the miniſters inſiſted upon his having the preference in rank. Coſmo, as well as his ſon, exclaimed againſt this regulation, but for ſome time no redreſs was given; in a few years after, Parma never claimed what then was inſiſted upon.

From the ſolemn auſtere court of Philip, Franceſco removed into Germany, to eſpouſe Joanna, the archduchеſs; their firſt meeting was at Inſpruck, thence he accompanied her to Vienna, and afterwards

to

Digitized by Google

to Prague, where the emperor Maximilian II. her uncle was. Taking leave of his majeſty, they were conducted into Italy, at Maximilian's expence. At Trent, the archduchess was treated almoſt in a regal manner by Chriſtopher Madruccio, the prelate of that ſee, and Borromeo complimented her in the name of all Italy; cardinal Vercellenſis alſo paid her his reſpects.

Leaving Trent, Paulo-Jordano Orſini, duke of Bracciano, eſcorted Joanna to Florence, where ſhe was married with the utmoſt magnificence; the archduchess Barbara, her ſiſter, accompanied her, but ſeparated to go to Ferrara, where ſhe was married to Alphonſo II. its duke.

At the age of thirty-five he became the ſovereign of Tuſcany. He appeared to enjoy every poſſible advantage. Italy, which had been torn and ravaged by the ambition of the great monarchs, ſunk into a calm ſerenity. The houſe of Auſtria, two of whoſe princes ruled over great part of Europe, for one ſat upon the imperial throne of

Digitized by Google

of Germany, and the other the regal one of Spain, were attached to him from intereſt, affinity, and inclination. Maximilian ratified to him the title of Grand-duke, and Philip gave him the order of the Golden Fleece.

The contemporary pontiffs, Pius V. Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V. profeſſed themſelves intereſted in his welfare. To the two latter he rendered himſelf particularly acceptable. To Gregory, by the magnificent manner in which he treated Mancio Iſus, and Michael Gingiva, the ambaſſadors to his holineſs, from Japan, as they paſſed through his territories in their way to Rome.

He obtained Sixtus's good-will by the attention he paid to the Peretti, the pontiff's family, offering to Camilla, his ſiſter, a marquiſate, lately fallen vacant by the extinction of the ancient houſe that had poſſeſſed it; this honour his holineſs declined, though with many profeſſions of gratitude. Sixtus had refuſed to receive Camilla,

Digitized by Google

Camilla, when arrayed in coſtly robes, at the time ſhe came to him in Rome, after his exaltation to the pontificate; turning away, he ſaid, "You are not my ſiſter, ſhe "is a poor woman of le Grotte, and not "a princeſs." When ſhe had exchanged her dreſs for one becoming her original ſtation, he treated her not only kindly, but heaped riches and honours upon her, raiſed her family to the firſt conſequence in Rome. Perhaps he was too haughty to permit any one to do what he thought came beſt from himſelf. Sixtus was one of the greateſt characters that Europe ever ſaw; yet the Peretti, his family, were mean cottagers, himſelf originally a ſwine-herd, and his ſiſter, Camilla, the widow of a carpenter, and who had maintained herſelf, after her huſband's death, by waſhing linen.

Hentzner ſays, that Elizabeth had the portraits of this grand duke, and the two princeſſes his daughters, in one of the royal apartments of Windſor, which evinces that there had been a friendſhip between the courts of London and Florence.

The

Digitized by Google

The quiet ſtate of Italy during his reign can afford little that is intereſting. France could not injure him; the emperor and Spain it has appeared were his friends; the popes reſpected him, and the Italian ſtates were in no ſituation to moleſt him, allied by his ducheſs to Mantua and Ferrara, and feared by ſuch who envied him the rank and power his family had ſo recently obtained above theirs.

In the government of his dominions, like his father, he was ſevere but juſt. He had a ſingular method of intimidating the magiſtrates, and preventing either their doing any thing againſt his authority, or giving improper judgments. This was the way he took, he perforated the ſix torquex in the Medicean arms, which were put up very high in the great hall of the palace Pitti, and where the magiſtrates ſat in their judicial capacity; all that was ſaid was diſtinctly heard in a gallery that was on the other ſide. Here he often took his poſt, and, much to his honour, if he detected them in any partiality, the cauſe was re-

examined

Digitized by Google

examined by himſelf, the decree reverſed, and judge puniſhed.

Iſabella, the beautiful but profligate ſiſter of Franceſco, had been for ſome time removed from the grand ducal protection to that of Paulo-Jordano Orſini, an Italian of illuſtrious deſcent, being the ſon of Hieronimo, and grandſon of Giovanni-Jordano, lords of Bracciano, which this line had held for four prior generations, and were a younger branch of the Orſini, counts of Noli. Paulo-Jordano was born in 1541, and created duke of Bracciano, a ſmall duchy within twelve miles of Rome, and held of the ſovereign pontiffs: He chiefly reſided at Florence. Iſabella, though a wife, made no alteration in her voluptuous manner of living, and ſhe took little trouble to hide it either from the prince to whom ſhe was married, or from the world, ſo that what Vaſari had publiſhed ſeemed to be perfectly confirmed.

Eleanora, the wife of Pietro, brother to the grand duke, had ſentiments equally unprincipled;

Digitized by Google

principled; this occaſioned a reciprocal friendſhip between the ſiſters. Their gallantries were as public as ſhameful; not content with following their criminal pleaſures, they are ſaid to have conſpired againſt Franceſco.

Alarmed at his own danger, the ſovereign laid before the injured huſbands their diſgrace, and the common danger that awaited them, as well as himſelf. To avert which, he gave them full permiſſion to puniſh the fair culprits with death, a propoſal they received with avidity.

The duke of Bracciano went to one of his hunting ſeats, and ſent the next morning for the guilty Iſabella, who with much reluctance complied; the miniſters of death awaited her arrival, who immediately ſtrangled her. Thus periſhed one of the moſt profligate princeſſes that ever diſgraced the Chriſtian profeſſion, when ſhe had lived thirty-eight years, leaving Virginio, her only child, afterwards duke of Bracciano, whoſe title and numerous progeny became extinct

Digitized by Google

extinct in the male line in his youngeſt grandſon. Iſabella was the patroneſs of Socinus, and ſo long as ſhe lived, all the endeavours of the inquiſition to confiſcate his effects were ineffectual.

The ſame day that Iſabella died, proved alike fatal to Eleanora, at one of the palaces of Pietro. The report that they died of eating muſhrooms was never believed; and the ſeverity againſt all their intimates, who were immediately put to death, and ſome of them even by torture, convinced the world, that they died by violence. They were deprived of life in the year 1578.

There is ſomething ſo extraordinary in the fate of the duke of Bracciano, the huſband of Iſabella, and his family, that it will not be unacceptable. Paulo-Jordano, ſome time after this, diſpleaſed Sixtus V. by his exceſſes, and knowing his inflexible ſeverity, he retired to Padua; but fearing that the Venetian government could not protect him, he meant to fly into Germany, but died at Coſmo, near Milan, in 1585, ſup-



Digitized by Google

poſed by poiſon, artfully adminiſtered to him by the contrivance of the pontiff. There is a moſt beautiful engraving of him, which ſhews he was uncommonly handſome; it is inſcribed PAVLVS. IORD. II. BRACCIANI. DUX. Eques Octavius Leo, Roman pictor, fecit, ſuperior. permiſſu.

After Iſabella's death, he married, in 1581, Virginia Acoramboria, a lady of great beauty; who in grief for his death went to Padua, and put herſelf under the guardianſhip of Venice, in whoſe ſervice her huſband had been declared an admiral, intending to remain there with two of her brothers, until ſhe could return to her father's at Eugabia.

Some little time after ſhe had been there, Lodovico Orſini, a brother of her late huſband's, who had alſo a naval appointment in Venice, having ſome ſecret quarrel with her, aſſiſted with ſome armed men, ſurpriſed her in the night. This ferocious man put the beauteous mourner to death, with one of her brothers. This cataſtrophe happened in 1586.

The

Digitized by Google

The ſenate of Venice, juſtly enraged at the atrocity of the deed, gave immediate orders to ſeize the murderer, who, with fifty of his followers, defended themſelves with the utmoſt obſtinacy, until ſeveral of them were killed: the ſurvivors being overpowered, he was ſeized, and adjudged to die by ſtrangling, which ſentence was executed in priſon, as an atonement for thoſe laws he had ſo infamouſly infringed.

The ſevere puniſhments inflicted upon the guilty Iſabella and Eleanora, were received by none with more aſtoniſhment and horror than by the grand ducheſs, who trembled for her own fate. She was no ſtranger to the exceſs of Franceſco's paſſion for ſeveral ladies, and his regard for Bianca Capello, one of the moſt beautiful and moſt captivating females that the world ever ſaw.

The virtuous Joanna had, with the utmoſt devotion, in 1572, viſited in pilgrimage the Lady of Loretto, for the reſtoration of her huſband's heart; her magnificent



Digitized by Google

preſents, and her vaſt humility, were alike unavailable.

The ſuperſtition of that period forms a ſtriking contraſt to the infidelity of theſe times. No ſooner was Joanna arrived at Ricanati, where Loretto was viſible, than ſhe and her ladies alighted, and dreſſed in plain white garments walked on to the ſuppoſed holy edifice, where they ſpent three days and nights in their devotions before the ſacred image, upon the bare pavement, diſdaining every indulgence. They offered to the Virgin mother two hearts of gold, hung by chains of the ſame metal; an image of Chriſt upon the croſs; four elegant wrought candleſticks, a cubit and an half high, all theſe were ſilver; a great croſs of ebony, robes for the biſhop, prieſts, miniſters, and altar, richly ornamented with gold and ſilver; a golden robe for the ſtatue of the Virgin, of curious workmanſhip, beſides other furniture for the altar, embroidered with jewels, gold, and ſilver; alſo rich chalices.

The

Digitized by Google

The unhappy wife promiſed, that ſhould the mother of Chriſt be propitious to her diſtreſs, and inſpire her huſband with a mutual paſſion, ſhe would yearly renew her grateful offerings. Having thus implored heaven, as ſhe ſuppoſed in the moſt efficacious manner, ſhe returned. Gregory XIII. pleaſed with what added influence to the Roman Catholic religion, treated the ducheſs with every honour, whilſt ſhe paſſed and repaſſed his dominions; diſpatching Paulo Odelcalco, biſhop of Atria and Pena, to attend her.

Joanna long oppreſſed, was ſo ſhocked with this laſt act of violence, that it threw her into a premature labour, which deprived Franceſco of a ſon, and her of life, April 6, 1578.

Bianca, the object of Franceſco's love, was the daughter of Bartholomeo Capello, a Venetian citizen. Her ſingular beauty attracted the attention of Pietro Bonaventuri, a Florentine of ſmall fortune and mean family, who reſided at Venice. This man



Digitized by Google

prevailed upon Bianca to marry him, and knowing how much her father would reſent it, they fled from the dominions of Venice, and ſought refuge in Florence.

This admirable beauty, doomed for the bed of a ſovereign, ſoon experienced many hardſhips, as well from the extravagance, as from the indolence of her huſband. In the end ſhe was reduced ſo low, as to maintain herſelf and him by taking in linen to waſh.

Franceſco no ſooner ſaw than he loved her; her beauty was ſo reſplendent, it was next to impoſſible to do otherwiſe. She was, ſay her friends, inexorable to all his preſents, intreaties, and almoſt violences.

He heaped honours and riches upon Buonaventuri, who, in conſequence of the alteration in his affairs, removed from his mean houſe in the Via-Larga, to a magnificent one, near the bridge Il Trinita. Forgetting the meanneſs of his origin, he thought only of the favour of his ſovereign, as imagining it authorized him to commit

the

Digitized by Google

the greateſt enormities. His extravagant pride and inſolence were repeatedly complained of to the grand duke, and as often forgiven, through the intreaties of his beautiful wife.

Unable any longer to pacify the diſſatisfied nobles, Franceſco declared, that for Bianca's ſake he would ſtill add another, to the many pardons he had already given him, but ſubjoined, "Since he is grown intolerable, why does he not receive the puniſhment he deſerves, though I have promiſed not to put him to death, yet I will pardon whoever ſhall kill him." This, in other words, was commanding what he wiſhed to have performed; accordingly, the miſerable Bonaventuri was found dead upon the bridge near his houſe.

The beautiful Bianca, who had not been able to conquer her paſſion for one every way undeſerving her regard, went to the ſovereign in all the "pomp of mourning," demanding juſtice againſt the "murderer." The enraptured duke, raiſing the kneeling



Digitized by Google

ſuppliant, ſaid, "The beſt juſtice I can "give you is to marry you myſelf."

The enemies of this lady, on the contrary, ſay, ſhe had long yielded to the embraces of the amorous prince; but if ſo, he would have been content with her favours without marrying her.

It ſeems moſt probable, that finding himſelf a widower, and that it was impoſſible to make the chaſte Bianca ſubmit to his unlawful pleaſures, he ſeized the opportunity that her huſband's behaviour gave, to have him removed; and not improbably his ill conduct had been magnified, to give a better pretence for taking away the only obſtacle that remained for the ſovereign's legally poſſeſſing a lady, whoſe various accompliſhments had ſo greatly captivated him, that he valued no conſequences put in oppoſition to his love.

Think of a ſovereign, the widower of a daughter, neice, ſiſter, and aunt of emperors, condeſcending to raiſe to his throne the daughter of a tradeſman, the widow of



Digitized by Google

a ſtill meaner man, and whoſe hands had been contaminated by maintaining herſelf in the moſt ſervile manner. Europe was filled with amazement. There had been no Peter of Ruſſia, no Lewis le Grand, to ſet ſuch an example.

To hide as much as poſſible, however, the defect of her birth, the ſeigniory of Venice adopted her as their daughter. They preſented Bianca with a crown, as they had formerly done Catherine Cornari, queen of Cyprus, who alſo had been a Venetian lady, knighted her father, and brother Vitorio, and declared the family of Capello noble.

Bianca went to Venice that ſhe might be thence conducted to Florence as a princeſs: Franceſco deputed Don Giovanni, his illegitimate brother, to attend his future bride to his capital. She arrived in Florence the exact oppoſite to what ſhe had ſome years before. Then ſhe came for protection, now to ſhare the throne with the ſovereign. Then a lonely exile, now accompanied by Don Giovanni, Micaſle and



Digitized by Google

Antonio Teguclo, ambaſſadors of the Seigniory, who were ſent to congratulate the Grand Duke upon her marriage and coronation; when a few years before the ſame ſtate had demanded her, as the fugitive daughter of one of her citizens.

The marriage was celebrated with the utmoſt magnificence and ſplendor, Oct. 12, 1579, a year and an half after the death of the grand ducheſs Joanna.

Franceſco was now at the completion of his happineſs, and devoted the remainder of his reign to love, and the patronage of the fine arts. He began the Florentine Muſeum, ſo famous throughout the world. To adorn which he not only purchaſed whatever he could procure of thoſe rarities that had been diſſipated in the misfortunes of his family, but every thing elſe that was valuable in nature or art. Notwithſtanding all the ſums he laviſhed in theſe works, either of taſte or munificence, he was ſo rich that Spain borrowed, and owed at his death, ſix hundred thouſand crowns.

He was ſo generous a patron, and ſo munificent

Digitized by Google

munificent to all the professors who excelled in any of the arts, and to learned men, that they regarded him as their protector.

Cellini, the first artist of his age, and whose works have never been surpassed, in gratitude for the many kindnesses he had received, and for the respect he paid him, as a scientific prince, bequeathed by his will to Francesco all his finished and unfinished statues. No inconsiderable respect from a man who had dared the vengeance of the greatest monarchs, and most illustrious of the Roman pontiffs.

He built a palace at Pratolino, which is six miles from Florence, in the road to Bologna, and finished that of Poggio à Caiano. Both of these he adorned with a profusion of paintings, the works of the finest masters. Their names alone would fill a page. Nor must it be omitted, that he gave regular statutes to the Florentine academy of Della Crusca *.

Such

* Della Crusca is the name of a celebrated academy established at Florence, for purifying and perfecting the Tuscan

Such a life as this was enviable to excess; the cardinal Ferdinando, the duke's brother, thought it ſo. Franceſco had loſt all his male legitimate iſſue. Philippo, his only ſon by the archduchess, died in 1583, and Pietro-Coſmo, his ſon by Bianca, was taken from him the preceding year, ſo that he was without that greateſt of all ſecurities againſt an ambitious heir preſumptive. Ferdinando was ſuch in an extreme degree; he dreaded Bianca bringing another ſon, which would preclude his hope of ſucceſſion.

Ferdinand perhaps deteſted the purple he wore; he ſighed for ſovereignty, nor probably was he without a deſire of partaking the pleaſures of matrimony. Pietro, his younger brother, had no legitimate child,

Tuſcan language. It has its name from Cruſca Bran, in alluſion to the purpoſe of its inſtitution. Its motto is, "Il piu bel fior ne coglie, i. e. It gathers the fineſt flour thereof." It is ſingular that in the apartment in which the academy meets, every thing bears an apt alluſion; the ſeats are in form of a baker's baſket, their backs like a ſhovel for moving corn, the cuſhions of grey ſattin, in the form of ſacks; and the branches for lights are in the ſame form.

ſo

ſo that if Franceſco ſhould have none, the grand ducal family would become extinct in the male line, and the dominions of the Medici either be transferred to ſome diſtant branch, or, what was moſt probable, would be conveyed to ſome other ſovereign houſe. What tended much to heighten his miſery, was diſguſt in ſeeing Bianca partner of the grand ducal honours. It hurt his pride; he thought the dignity of the Medici debaſed; his hatred became invincible.

The brothers Franceſco and Ferdinando, with Bianca, were at the Palace à Caino, which is finely ſeated between Florence and Piſtoia, diſtant about ſeven miles from the former place. To this charming ſpot the princes came to hunt. Previouſly to their ſetting out for the chace, a repaſt was provided, amongſt other things a tart, called blanc manger, was ſet upon the table; it was a ſweetmeat extremely agreeable to the grand duke.

Of this he and Bianca eat much; Ferdinando excuſed himſelf from partaking of the

Digitized by Google

the viands, under pretence of a ſlight indiſpoſition, chuſing ſomething more proper for a ſtomach ſomewhat out of order.

The ſovereign, and his beautiful and beloved conſort, were ſoon after taken with dreadful convulſions. They were removed to an apartment remarkably gloomy, the only one that is ſo in the whole edifice. There, locked in each others arms, they breathed their laſt, without an attendant to cloſe their eyes. None being ſuffered to go in, until the poiſoned tart had performed its murderous office.

Then, indeed, and not before, the cardinal ordered the doors to be thrown open. The cauſe of this ſudden cataſtrophe, as preconcerted, he alledged was, that Bianca had prepared the blanc manger for him, but perceiving her huſband the duke eat of it, and the ſcheme turn out ſo oppoſite to her wiſhes, partook of it alſo, to avoid that puniſhment her crime deſerved.

To impreſs the people with the ſame idea, Franceſco was buried with all funereal honours

Digitized by Google

honours due to a ſovereign, Bianca with the ignominy and contempt of a malefactreſs, and a beggar. Her body was carried upon men's ſhoulders, and thrown into the receptacle appropiated for the remains of the meaneſt of the people. This infamous tranſaction happened October 9, 1597, when Franceſco had lived forty-ſix, and governed Tuſcany thirteen years.

Though there are great blemiſhes in the character of Franceſco, it is impoſſible not to lament his death, and look with horror upon his brother, who, to gratify his ambition and hatred, could deprive his ſovereign and neareſt relative of life—but, if our pity is due to Franceſco, much more is it to the beautiful, the chaſte, the unhappy Bianca, who ſhared an equally cruel fate. Hers was heightened by the baſe ſtigma caſt upon her character. During the government of Tuſcany by the houſe of Medici, her name and memory was mentioned only with infamy, except by ſome few who were better informed, but who durſt not divulge the truth.

Truth

Digitized by Google

Truth is now unveiled, and no one at this time doubts who was the murderer. The death of the cardinal could have been of no real advantage to Bianca. Her danger would have been extremely great, had ſhe attempted his life to ſatisfy any reſentment ſhe might entertain againſt him. Had ſhe wiſhed to have taken Ferdinando off by poiſon, why do it in the preſence of a brother who loved him? Can it be ſuppoſed that had ſhe prepared the poiſoned food, ſhe would have let it be at the option of him, in whom all her happy fortunes centered, to partake of it?

Why were not applications uſed for Franceſco's and Bianca's recovery? Why keep their faithful attendants from them? Why was not a difference made in the treatment of her and the unfortunate brother, whilſt life remained? He had done nothing deſerving of being put into a room with only a glimmering of light, juſt ſufficient to add horror to his wretchedneſs, and render his laſt moments the more dreadful.

If

If we view the intereſt Ferdinando had in the deaths of the illuſtrious lovers, we ſhall perceive, that he had every thing to obtain by the removal of the grand duke, but Bianca nothing by the deſtruction of the cardinal.

The portraits of the calumniated ducheſs were forbidden to be kept in Florence during the exiſtence of the Medici. The truth reflected too much upon a prince of that houſe, from whom the ſovereigns deſcended, to be permitted to be told. The grand dukes, therefore, joined in the improbable aſſertion of Ferdinando.

Time, the betrayer of falſehood, and diſcoverer of truth, has reſtored Bianca to that reputation that ſhe had been deprived of for two centuries. Her beauteous form is again diſcloſed in all its purity. England boaſts two likeneſſes of her, they are both at Strawberry Hill, the ſeat of the earl of Orford, and where the writer of theſe memoirs ſpent one of his happieſt days. The one is a miniature, the other a portrait. The

Digitized by Google

The former, when Bianca was at the height of her charms, the other not long before her death: they are both invaluable. Her countenance discovers, that native pride, which made her scorn to be any thing less than wife even to a sovereign.

When we see the fate of several of the children of Cosmo, it is no wonder lord Cork said, "Fraternal affection was little known "to the Medici." Their history affords more assassinations than can be paralleled in any Christian sovereign house in Europe.

Francesco-Maria married twice, first in 1565, the archduchess Joanna, the youngest of fifteen children of Ferdinand I. niece to Charles V. sister to Maximilian II. and aunt to Rodolph II. emperors of Germany. She was born in 1547, and died April 6, 1578. The issue of this marriage was three children:

1. Philippo, born May 20, 1577, and died, April 5, 1583.

2. Eleanora, born in 1566, and married in

Digitized by Google

in 1585, to Vincent I. duke of Mantua. The ceremony was very ſplendid, the cardinals Ferdinando, her uncle, and Auguſtino Valerius, attended her to Mantua. Vincent was, at the time of his marriage, only prince of Mantua, and had before married Margarita, daughter of Aleſandro, duke of Parma, from whom he was divorced, from the princeſs having a natural impediment: Margarita took the veil in Placentia, after ſhe had been adjudged incapable of connubial enjoyments. Eleanora died in 1611.

3. Mary, born in 1575, and married, December 27, 1600, to Henry IV. king of France. She died July 3, 1643. It is ſingular that Henry had alſo a wife before his marriage with this princeſs, from whom he was divorced, but for very different reaſons. There was a great diſſimilarity in the ſiſters: Eleanora was handſome and amiable; Mary was ordinary, and every other way unpleaſing.

By Bianca, his ſecond ducheſs, Franceſco had,



Digitized by Google

4. Pietro-Cosmo, who died in the year 1582, when an infant.

This grand duke had three natural children, two sons and a daughter.

Antonio, born in 1576; he became a knight of Malta, and for whom his father purchased the marquisate of Capistrano. Clement VIII. also gave him the priory of Pisa. He was greatly skilled in mechanics; he invented a piece of fire-arms, which consisted of four pistols joined together, and so contrived that they might be concealed in his hat. It might be thought that he had been sedulous to act defensively, having learned, from his family's misfortunes, to what extremities the individuals of the Medici had often been driven, and how frequently they had been overwhelmed by the deceit of their enemies. He died in 1521. His portrait, at full length, and as large as life, is in the laboratory in Florence.

Ulyssio, count of Bentevoglio, a small town

town in the territory of Bologna, held under the papacy.

Pelegrina, of whom no particulars are mentioned.

Muzzucheo gives three medals of Franceſco, but all ſtruck when he was prince of Tuſcany only. Two of them have the effigies of the archduchеſs upon the reverſe.



Digitized by Google

## CHAPTER XVI.

### THE LIFE OF FERDINANDO I. GRAND DUKE OF TUSCANY.

FERDINANDO, the ſixth ſon of Coſmo, was born July 30, 1549, created a cardinal deacon when only fourteen years of age, and became the ſovereign of Tuſcany when thirty-eight, by the very criminal means already mentioned.

To cover the ſecret violence he had uſed to obtain the height of his wiſhes, he pretended a wonderful ſanctity, and ſeemed, after nine years ſpent in grimace, at laſt only won, by the intreaties of his friends, to part with thoſe robes, which many had ſuppoſed were ſo odious to him, that to throw them off, he had diſcoloured them by the blood of a brother, and of his innocent and beautiful ducheſs.

Pope Sixtus V. ſenſible both of his penetration and power, eaſily accepted his reſignation,

Digitized by Google

nation, aſſigning him only, as a fine, to preſent to the church of St. John à Latera two ſilver ſtatues of elegant workmanſhip, each weighing ſixty pounds. His reſignation was ſolemnly performed in a conclave held November 28, 1598, by his advocates Nicholas de Tournabony, biſhop of St. Sepulcro, and John Nicholas. At his acceſſion, his great ſeal was ſurmounted by a cardinal's hat, and it was inſcribed Ferd. Med. Card. Magn. Dux. Etruriæ. III. Afterwards the hat was exchanged for an Etruſcan coronet, and the mention of his cardinalate was omitted, but he retained the oval form, ſuch as our prelates uſe.

Ferdinando carried his hypocriſy ſo far, that when he ſurveyed the profuſion of treaſure, jewels, and other rich property belonging to the deceaſed prince, he exclaimed, that if his brother had conſulted the good of his ſoul, he would never have heaped up ſo much wealth.

Having profited by that refined policy he had ſeen practiſed in Rome, he viewed with



Digitized by Google

extreme jealousy and dread Spain aim at an absolute empire in Italy. This determined him to do all he possibly could to lessen her power, though he found himself compelled to keep up an appearance of amity; but he was obliged by the court of Madrid, as feudatory of Sienna, to assist in equipping the "Invincible Armada;" but it cost him many subjects, and much treasure. Don Giovanni de Medici, his illegitimate brother, was one of the commanders on board that proud fleet; but though both he and Tomaso de Medici escaped the dangers of the elements, and their enemies arms, yet the vessels sent from Florence were amongst the number of those that were lost.

Yet to curb the designs of the haughty, ambitious, and cruel Philip, he afterwards offered his assistance to our illustrious Elizabeth, who was the scourge of that prince, ordering, unsolicited, his ambassador at Paris to give her majesty the earliest information of all the designs the crafty Spaniard pro-



Digitized by Google

jected againſt her. He wiſely, however, declined entering into a treaty with England and Venice, to openly attack Spain, from a knowledge that the undertaking was too hazardous for him, both from the ſmallneſs of his dominions, compared to that overgrown monarchy, and the improbability of his obtaining any thing in return, if they were ſucceſsful, to repay him. He too, by an open revolt, might loſe that part of his territories which he held of that crown. The inflexible Philip, he knew, would, if he openly attacked him, treat him rather as a rebel vaſſal, than an independent potentate. His good ſenſe too would dictate to him, that the weakeſt power in any combination is generally the principal object of the vengeance of the enraged enemy, and he was ſenſible that his dominions were more vulnerable than thoſe of England or Venice; and he dreaded ſeeing the troops of Spain act in an hoſtile manner in Italy. It might be Elizabeth's beſt policy that he ſhould act openly; it was his own to behave with the utmoſt circumſpection and privacy.



Digitized by Google

If Ferdinando reſpected Elizabeth, and knew her puiſſance, yet he could not ſubmit to the liberties her ſubjects took in attacking the ſhips of the Tuſcans, under pretence of their carrying naval ſtores for the ſervice of Spain, and at other times bringing into his ports contraband goods. Several of his letters to Elizabeth complain of this treatment; but as they were not attended to, he confiſcated the effects of ſuch of the Engliſh as reſided in his dominions. Elizabeth, at length, by proclamation, ſtrictly forbad her ſubjects to violate the Tuſcan ſhips. Still, however, they carried prohibited goods into Ferdinando's ports, which ſo much hurt him, that, juſt before the queen's death, he ſeized five of their ſhips, which her ſucceſſor in vain endeavoured to recover.

When Philip and the Pope conſpired to effect the ruin of Henry III. of France, the one by arms, the other by his fulminations, and were upon the point of completing their deſigns, he with the utmoſt propriety

Digitized by Google

priety adviſed the deſpairing, agitated monarch to act in a prompt and decided manner. "Seize," ſaid he, "Avignon, and "then march, at the head of your "army, into Italy, and force, at the gates "of Rome, the haughty pontiff to do you "that juſtice, that, by your ſupplications, "he has denied you."

The wretched Henry, who wanted that energy of character his ſtation required, and which the important period ought to have particularly called forth, ſoon after fell by the hand of a baſe aſſaſſin. Ferdinando was the firſt of Romiſh faith who dared, in defiance of the Papal and Spaniſh courts, to acknowledge the king of Navarre his ſucceſſor, and he generouſly lent that prince two hundred thouſand crowns to aſſiſt him in recovering France, his undoubted right.

To ſtill farther ſerve the Gallic monarch, he ſent reinforcements of men, ammunition, and proviſions, to the iſles of Pomeque, Ratoneau, and If; but when, by the battle of Amiens, France was threatened to be parcelled

Digitized by Google

parcelled out amongſt the various competitors for that crown, he diſpatched don Giovanni, his illegitimate brother, with a farther ſupply, and at all events to ſecure himſelf the money he had advanced, he declared himſelf maſter of theſe important places. The claim he ſet up was, that having married a princeſs, deſcended from the royal houſe of Valois, he ſhould retain them in her right.

Nothing could ſhew his penetration more than this action: theſe iſlands lay before Marſeilles, upon the coaſt of Provence. If is one of the beſt ports in the Mediterranean; theſe were ſo well fortified, that with the troops he had there he could bid defiance to what any power could ſend againſt him, whilſt France was thus convulſed; his gallies could ſupply the garriſons with whatever was wanting; and, had France been diſmembered, Marſeilles, a place of the utmoſt conſequence as to commerce, would have been his own, and on that account the wealth it would have yielded

yielded muſt have been extremely great. Some think he would have extended his claim to the whole of Provence.

When Henry was enabled to wreſt from his adverſaries his dominions, and the crown was firmly ſeated upon his head, Ferdinando was obliged to relinquiſh what he had by ſo much policy gained; and when the monarch found himſelf in poſſeſſion of Marſeilles, one of the moſt capital maritime cities in the world, he exclaimed, "Now I am "really king of France."

It muſt not be imagined, that becauſe he had deſerted Henry's intereſt to promote his own, that he felt the whole weight of France now united. That gallant prince, who ſeemed, both from inclination and policy, to have more remembered ſervices than revenged injuries, expreſſed his obligations to Ferdinando, who had lent him ſo ſeaſonable a ſupply, and who had ſupported his cauſe until it ſeemed ruined.

And as he joined with Venice in procuring the court of Rome to receive the hero into

Digitized by Google

into the boſom of the church, he was ranked amongſt the favoured allies of France. Henry allowed him to take away all his cannon and ammunition from the iſlands, and promiſed him another hundred thouſand crowns, in addition to the former debt, and hoſtages were agreed to be given as a ſecurity for the whole. Henry's pride was hurt at the idea of giving hoſtages. Ferdinando being apprized of it, unſolicited, releaſed him from ſo humiliating a condition, and the debt was ſecured upon the public revenue.

As if fortune was determined to declare for the grand duke, in fixing the alliance with France upon the ſureſt baſis, his niece Mary, the daughter of his predeceſſor, was fixed upon to ſhare the throne with the every way illuſtrious Henry. The monarch had divorced the elegant but depraved Margaret de Valois; but a ſlave of the tender paſſion, he had wiſhed to marry, in her room, a miſtreſs whom he loved with an exceſs of tenderneſs, and to whom in a moment of weakneſs

weakneſs he had given an engagement of marriage; this, however, the indignant Sully tore into pieces, and threw into the fire *, and that wiſe miniſter ſeconded the expectations of France, in obliging his majeſty to marry into ſome ſovereign family, and ſettle the ſucceſſion on the moſt ſolid baſis. Mary of Tuſcany was fixed upon.

It is eaſy to imagine the happineſs and ſatisfaction the grand duke had in ſecuring ſo powerful an ally againſt Spain, as well as the vaſt increaſe of honour that the alliance gave to himſelf, and the Medici. To expreſs a proper ſenſe of the great pleaſure it afforded him, he treated the Florentines with every kind of amuſement, ſparing no expence to render them as elegant and grand as it was poſſible; a ſingle comedy coſt him ſixty thouſand crowns.

* Whilſt Sully was deſtroying his ſovereign's engagement of marriage to his miſtreſs, Henry exclaimed, "What, are you mad?" "I wiſh," he replied, "I was "the only madman in France."

He

He determined to ſend his niece into France in a manner equal to the dignity ſhe was deſigned for. A magnificent veſſel was built for that purpoſe; it was accompanied by the gallies of Tuſcany, Rome, and Malta; Venice offered hers, but from their diſtance they were excuſed; Genoa, as the ally of, and under the protection of Spain, refuſed to ſend her navy, but to qualify her denial ſaluted the bride with twenty-five pieces of ordnance, and diſpatched two gallies with preſents, which were not accepted.

The ſuite that Ferdinando ſent to accompany the queen was numerous; ſhe was attended by the ducheſs of Mantua, her ſiſter, Don Virginio, duke of Bracciano, her couſin, Don Giovanni and Antonio, her illegitimate uncle and brother, the Cavaliero Vinti, the grand ducal ſecretary, the nobility of the higher orders of Florence and Sienna, with the principal of the knights of St. Stephen and Malta, all of whom vied with each other in the magnificence of their

Digitized by Google

their dreſſes, and the richneſs of their ſervants liveries.

The bride, on the contrary, though preſented with a profuſion of jewels, both by the grand duke and the pope, conſtantly appeared in the plaineſt manner; her ruff of the largeſt ſize, her hair braided up, without any ornament in her dreſs, except pearl pendants, and a row of pearls about her neck, ſaying, "ſhe came only as a plain "wife."

With all this deference and attention to a people who then called themſelves the ſtandard of politeſſe, the Florentines had no reaſon to be pleaſed with their reception. Henry was ſo dilatory, that it was ſaid, "Omnes qui amant graviter ſibi dari "uxorem ferunt." The princes of the blood would none of them aſſiſt at any ceremony the ducheſs of Mantua was preſent at, becauſe his majeſty had ordered that ſhe, as the ſiſter of his queen, ſhould precede every prince in his court, whether foreign or native.

They

Digitized by Google

They even caſt reflections upon the origin of the Mantuan ſovereigns, ſaying, the Gonzaga were deſcended from a citizen, who had poſſeſſed himſelf of the government by the murder of his lord; and when, in 1606, ſhe went by invitation to the baptiſm of the three children of their majeſties, neither Henry nor the council would permit her highneſs to precede the princes of France, though the queen juſtly obſerved, no honour could be too great for her, being ſo nearly related, and having taken ſuch uncommon pains to add a luſtre to the ceremony, having then in her train two hundred horſe, and two hundred and fifty attendants.

Even the French lacquies, copying the manners of their maſters, ſeized whatever they could meet with belonging to the Florentines; nor was the rank of the wearer any protection from their violence. Don Giovanni had his hat forcibly taken from his head, and Antonio had a part of his coat torn off. Tired out with ſuch repeated

inſults,

Digitized by Google

inſults, the Florentines at laſt retaliated the injuries they received. Some lives were loſt, particularly a ſervant belonging to his majeſty was killed; yet the queen, when M. de Guiſe complained, took not the leaſt notice, as knowing what provocations had been given.

Such treatment made France by no means deſirable to the Florentines. It was a vaſt mortification to Antonio and Virginio to leave it, having flattered themſelves they ſhould advance their fortunes in the French court, under the influence of the queen.

Don Giovanni having ſettled the pecuniary matters, the whole retinue left France, each receiving ſomething, but very diſproportionable to their repeated inſults. The ducheſs of Mantua had a brilliant, valued at fifteen thouſand crowns; Virginio, Giovanni, and Antonio, had each a jewel for their hats; the generals of Florence and Malta, chains of gold, with a medallion of his majeſty, valued at two hundred ducats; conſiderable preſents out of a portion of ſix



Digitized by Google

hundred thouſand crowns, two hundred and fifty thouſand of which were detained for a debt to the grand duke.

Antonio was a weak, ridiculous character; no wonder therefore that he was not favourably received; but the duke of Bracciano was a perſon of great abilities, yet was no better treated. Pretending to go to Florence with the gallies, he, in diſguiſe, got into England, where he was received with diſtinguiſhed honour, to the diſpleaſure of Henry, who felt it reflect upon himſelf. He afterwards went to the archduke, governor of the Netherlands, not chooſing for ſome time to return into Italy, fearing the court of Rome, which had obliged him to marry the princeſs Montalto, though the pontiff had deprived him of the office of gonfalonier della chieſa, and perſecuted him as his father had been *.

Mary

* Virginio, duke of Bracciano, by Fulvia Teretia Montalto, had five ſons and three daughters: 1. Paulo Jordano, duke of Bracciano and prince of the empire, who had no iſſue by his ducheſs, Maria Iſabella, daughter of

Mary de Medici was ill qualified to reclaim Henry from his attachment to gallantry. She was neither handſome, ſenſible, nor amiable, and reſented his paſſion for other ladies ſo much, that it is well known his face has often borne the marks of her fin-

of Alexander, lord of Piombino. 2. Aleſandro, created a cardinal in 1625, and who died Auguſt 26, 1626. 3. Ferdinando, duke of St. Gemino, and afterwards duke of Bracciano, and a grandee of Spain. 4. Juſtiniani, who died in 1663. 5. Virginio, a knight of Malta. 6. Iſabella, married to Cæſar II. duke of Guaſtella. 7. Maria Felicita, married, by the procurement of the queen of France, to Henry, duke of Montmorency, admiral of France, who gave her one hundred thouſand crowns in addition to an equal ſum which ſhe received from her father. 8. Camilla, married to Marco Antonio Borghieſe, prince of Sulmona, after whoſe death, in 1658, ſhe became a nun, and died in 1684.—Ferdinando, the third ſon of Virginio, had three children: 1. Virginio, born in 1617, created a cardinal in 1641, and died Aug. 21, 1676. 2. Flavio, duke of Bracciano and St. Gemini, prince of Nerola, and of the empire, and grandee of Spain, died April 5, 1698, leaving no iſſue by his wives, Hypolita Lodovicia, widow of Gregory Aldobrandini, 1674, and Anna Maria de Tremuille; and 3. Letio, prince of Nerola and Viccovaro, who died unmarried, April 30, 1696.



Digitized by Google

gers. By giving up herſelf to two mean perſons, natives of Italy, d'Ancre and his wife, contrary to the intreaties of her ſiſter, Giovanni, and her other relations, it involved her in ruin, and her undeſerving favourites in a ſudden deſtruction; ſhe died an exile at Cologne, July 3, 1643, in want of the neceſſaries of life. D'Ancre was aſſaſſinated in going to the preſence-chamber of Lewis XIII. and his wife was burnt, under pretence of bewitching her royal patroneſs, though, as ſhe judiciouſly remarked, ſhe had no otherwiſe influence over the queen, than what a wiſe woman could obtain over a weak one.

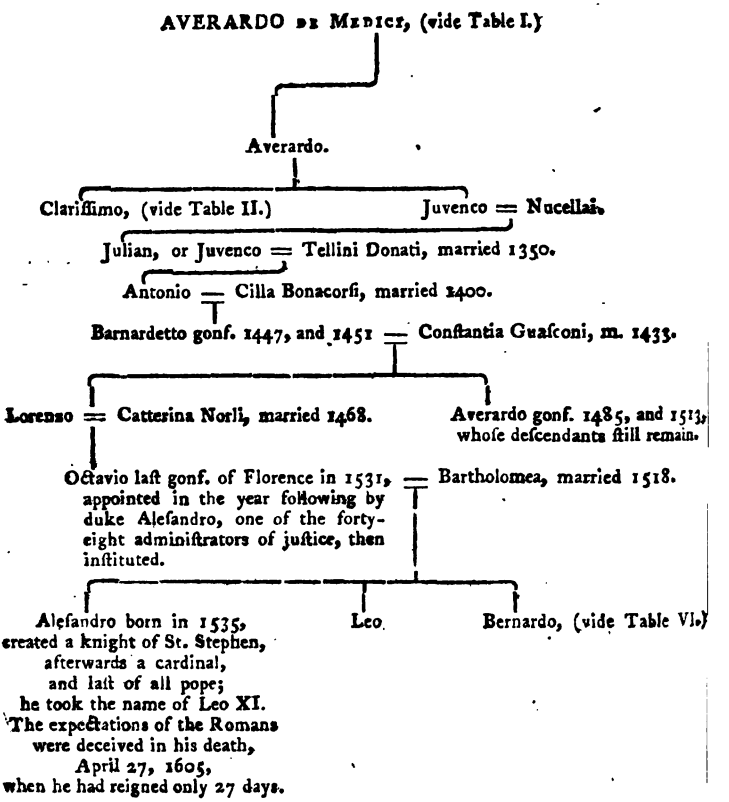
Leaving Henry in poſſeſſion of a wife, whom he was ſoon moſt heartily tired of, and letting Ferdinando enjoy the pleaſing ſatisfaction of reflecting, that the future ſovereigns of France, of the houſe of Bourbon, would maternally deſcend from the Medici, as the Valois had before done, let us return into Italy, whence we have been ſo long abſent.

Prior

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

TABLE V. — [*to face p.* 309.]


AVERARDO DE MEDICI, (vide Table I.)
Averardo.
Clariſſimo, (vide Table II.)
Juvenco = Nucellai.
Julian, or Juvenco = Tellini Donati, married 1350.
Antonio — Cilla Bonacorſi, married 1400.
Barnardetto gonf. 1447, and 1451 — Conſtantia Guaſconi, m. 1433.
Lorenzo = Catterina Norli, married 1468.
Averardo gonf. 1485, and 1513, whoſe deſcendants ſtill remain.
Octavio laſt gonf. of Florence in 1531, appointed in the year following by duke Aleſandro, one of the forty-eight adminiſtrators of juſtice, then inſtituted.
= Bartholomea, married 1518.
Aleſandro born in 1535, created a knight of St. Stephen, afterwards a cardinal, and laſt of all pope; he took the name of Leo XI. The expectations of the Romans were deceived in his death, April 27, 1605, when he had reigned only 27 days.
Leo.
Bernardo, (vide Table VI.)

No more of this Genealogy is given than to ſhew the affinity of pope Leo XI. to the reigning family, and to fill up the names of ſuch of the Medici who were gonfaloniers of Florence.—Juvenco was the youngeſt of five ſons; from Franceſco, the eldeſt, came a numerous family; Antonio was the youngeſt of three; Bernardetto the third of four; Lorenzo the ſecond of four; and Octavio the eldeſt of five ſons.

Digitized by Google

Prior to which, however, it will be neceſſary to obſerve an important circumſtance, which ſtill further augmented the grandeur of Ferdinando, and the whole houſe of Medici. This was the elevation of cardinal Medici to the papacy, vacant by the death of Clement VIII. The new pontiff aſſumed the name of Leo XI. The degree of relationſhip between his holineſs and the ſovereign houſe of Medici was diſtant, as will appear by the annexed genealogy.

Leo XI. was born in 1535, was created a knight of St. Stephen in 1567, but was inclined to an eccleſiaſtical life. Coſmo I. ſent him ambaſſador to pope Pius V. in which employment he remained fifteen years, being continued by Franceſco and Ferdinando. He obtained the archbiſhopric of Florence in 1574. He was of great ſervice to the grand dukes at the court of Rome; in return they promoted his welfare: by that intereſt he was, December 13, 1583, created a cardinal deacon by Gregory XIII.



Digitized by Google

He was deputed by pope Clement VIII. legate to Henry IV. of France, whom he brought into the bosom of the Romish church, and effected a peace between France and Spain. For this essential service, both crowns presented him with gifts suitable to their dignity and his worth.

Returning into Italy, he was created a cardinal bishop, June 17, 1602; and, upon the death of Clement, elected his successor, April 1, 1605. The excessive joy manifested as well in France as Tuscany upon his exaltation was scarcely known, before the world was deprived of him, after reigning only twenty-seven days. At his death he was in his seventieth year. His remains were deposited in the Gregorian chapel, in St. Peter's church. The monument erected to preserve his memory is by Algardi; it is of white marble; the two statues that accompany the pontiff's represent Strength and Plenty; the bas-relief contains the history of the reconciliation of the king of France with Rome. Part of the inscription

Digitized by Google

tion upon the monument is, "Qui brevi "viginti ſeptem dierum lætitia, et longo "mœrore urbem complevit." A ſentence not leſs flattering than true. Hamerano's medal of him gives his buſto profile to the right with a beard; his countenance is ſedate, with ſome degree of aſperity; the dreſs plain. The legend is Leo XI. Pont. Max. Anno I. The reverſe has a dead lion with bees about the carcaſe, and this motto, "De Forti "Duccedo MDCV." There is a ſtatue of Leo XI. in the epiſcopal palace at Piſtoia, of which he had been biſhop.

From this ſhort ruling pontiff let us return to Ferdinando, whom we have too long neglected. This politic prince was, as has been obſerved, jealous to a great degree of Spain; and knowing that it was the wiſh of Philip II. to ruin England, as his moſt ſtrenuous oppoſer, and, if poſſible, to overthrow the eſtabliſhed religion in Britain, though a Roman Catholic, and upon the borders of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, he reſolved to do all he could to prevent it.



Digitized by Google

They of the Romiſh faith vainly believed, that if James VI. of Scotland was taken off, the old religion would be reſtored; a plan was therefore deviſed at Rome, whoſe infamous policy was reſtrained by neither humanity nor decency, to deſtroy the Scotch monarch. Ferdinando, to whom nothing in that court was a ſecret, undertook to put James upon his guard againſt his cruel relentleſs enemies.

His highneſs fixed upon Mr. Henry Wotton to ſend to Scotland: this gentleman had been the confidant of the unfortunate earl of Eſſex, and, upon his misfortunes, had found it his beſt intereſt to quit England, and for ſome time had been under another name at Florence: he was likely to be every way acceptable to James, who had employed Eſſex in the project that had coſt him his head.

Not, however, to diſpleaſe Elizabeth by employing a perſon ſo obnoxious to her, Ferdinando directed Mr. Wotton to paſs through Norway, and thence ſail into Scotland,

Digitized by Google

Scotland, where, in a moſt maſterly manner he delivered his embaſſy. James had lately been ſurpriſed, and perhaps near being put to death by the earl of Gowrie, one of his own ſubjects, and well knew the machinations of the papal party againſt him, yet he pretended at leaſt not to be in any particular apprehenſions, for after preſſing the high ſenſe of his obligation to the grand duke, he ended his meſſage to him with ſaying, "It was leſs conſiderable to "die than to fear." A vain glorious boaſt from one who trembled at the ſight of a ſword.

Mr. Wotton returned unknown and unſuſpected, under the aſſumed name of Octavio Baldi. James did not forget the obligations he lay under to this gentleman, for, upon his acceſſion, he aſked lord Wotton, whether he knew him, his lordſhip replied, "Sir, he is my brother." The king ordered him to be ſent for, knighted him, and employed him in his Italian negotiations for very many years; he is, both as an ambaſſador and

and a writer, well-known, and his integrity univerſally admired. He was ſuffered, in his old age, to die neglected by king Charles I.

This act of friendſhip was the beginning of the great amity that was ever after entertained by the Stuarts with the Medici.

Ferdinando's riches attracted the attention of the moſt diſtant princes. James VI. about 1600, wiſhed to negotiate a marriage between Henry duke of Rothſay, the heir apparent, and the grand duke's daughter; the princeſs's fortune was to be paid down; but as both of them were infants, his majeſty undertook to reſtore the money, with intereſt, in caſe the marriage was not accompliſhed.

In the firſt draught of Sir Michael Balfour of Burlie's inſtructions, the marriage alſo of the king's daughter and the great duke's ſon is propoſed; but as this would have occaſioned a ſet off, and defeated James's deſire of having ſo much money, it was omitted in the ingroſſed inſtructions. Such negociations required the greateſt circumſpection

Digitized by Google

cumſpection and ſecrecy; but it appears that James was incautious, and had let the matter tranſpire. There can be little doubt, but that if James had been ſincere, and acted prudently, Ferdinando would have rejoiced extremely in the hope of giving a future queen to Scotland, eſpecially as there was the greateſt probability that his ſon-in-law would one day alſo ſit upon the reſplendent throne of England.

Ferdinando congratulated James upon his acceding to the throne of England, and complimented his majeſty after the wild conſpiracy of Sir Walter Raleigh; in return for theſe attentions, James ſent Sir Anthony Standen to Florence, in 1603, as his ambaſſador to that court and Venice. This ſingularly ſtrange character had been ſent throughout Europe, by Sir Francis Walſingham, as a ſpy for queen Elizabeth, who knighted him; yet he afterwards became ſuſpected by her majeſty for his attachment to the earl of Eſſex. James ſent him out as his repreſentative, and, had he poſſeſſed prudence, the

Digitized by Google

the choice had been good, for he underſtood all the living languages uſed upon the continent, as well as the learned ones, was of a quick and lively apprehenſion, and inſinuating addreſs, was known to, and a correſpondent with the literati, in his own and foreign nations, yet by his romances in the French court, where he had no buſineſs, and his counteracting all James's deſigns in that kingdom, he gave both Henry IV. and his own maſter ſuch umbrage, that he was recalled, and ſent a priſoner to the Tower.

Though James, upon his acceſſion to the ſiſter kingdom, had renewed his amity with the grand duke, his dignity, he ſuppoſed, was now too exalted to match with Tuſcany; however he had no objection to be her debtor, deſiring to borrow five hundred thouſand pounds; he afterwards reduced the ſum to three hundred thouſand pounds, payable in two years, and limited his ability to do this, becauſe he ſhould be able to ſave a million of crowns annually, which queen Elizabeth uſed to expend upon

Digitized by Google

upon the Iriſh wars, and for the maintenance of garriſons upon the frontiers of Scotland.

The grand duke, who, no doubt, was well informed of the extravagant turn of James's mind, ſeemed little inclined to lend the money, became inquiſitive about the nature of the ſecurity, and, prepoſterouſly enough, affects to think he muſt have the pope's leave, a ſubterfuge very palpably uſed to end the buſineſs. James expreſſed ſurprize, becauſe Elizabeth, who had been excommunicated, had been many times concerned with princes of the Romiſh church in both borrowing and lending.

It was, undoubtedly, a bold and daring thing for Ferdinando to pay ſuch reſpect and attention to the ſovereigns of England, whom the pontiffs treated as heretics; but he continued, throughout his reign, to pay every regard, both to Elizabeth and James, conſiſtent with his own intereſt, to which, above all things, he attended. James allowed none of his ſubjects to go beyond the grand

Digitized by Google

grand ducal dominions, however high their rank, and if they trespassed, Sir Henry Wotton was ordered to signify it to his court.

Ferdinando had a most insuperable aversion to the papal power, no doubt from noticing the dark policy of the pretended humble vicars of Christ, and from having probably, in his cardinalship, assisted in forging fetters for the potentates of Christendom; now a sovereign himself, he watched every opportunity to check their encroachments.

This led him to assist the protestant princes, and to declare for Venice, when she supported her undoubted privileges against the usurpations of Rome. He even treated that haughty power with contempt and scorn. He raised great banks, strengthened with walls, in the plains of Strezzo, upon the conflux of the Tiber and the Arno, which occasioned the water to rush into the papal dominions, and even into Rome itself, bearing down all before it. Nor could he



Digitized by Google

be prevailed upon to permit the rivers to flow in their accuſtomed manner by all the intreaties of Clement VIII. and Paul V. Nor was the grievance remedied until the laſt pontiff ſent Veroſpi, afterwards a cardinal, with three hundred ſoldiers, and five hundred pioneers, who, in ſight of his deputies, demoliſhed the works he had raiſed.

His conduct was uniform in oppoſing both Spain and the papacy. If he gave up Sebaſtian, the real or pretended king of Portugal, it was only becauſe the navy of Philip was ready to have attacked his coaſt upon a refuſal; and when France, upon another occaſion, reproached him with favouring Spain, he replied, "I ſhould have "acted otherwiſe, had there been forty gal-"lies in Marſeilles." Perhaps too, the proud Spaniard, not paying the conſiderable debt due to his predeceſſor, ſo often demanded, by no means raiſed his regard for Philip.

The grand duke had many diſputes with Genoa about Sarzana, a ſtrong and important

Digitized by Google

tant city in the territories of that republic, but near the frontiers of Tuſcany: this place had been exchanged by Coſmo for Leghorn, under certain ſtipulations; Ferdinando, in 1592, peremptorily demanded it; the Genoeſe agreed to deliver it up, if a mortgage they claimed was paid off, by a particular day, not ſuppoſing, in all likelihood, that Ferdinando could raiſe the ſum, or think it worth ſo high a ranſom; but at the ſpecified time the ſum was offered, and, upon a refuſal, Tuſcany armed. Genoa dared to refuſe, as fearing for their commerce, if both that and Leghorn ſhould be poſſeſſed by ſo mercantile a ſet of princes as the Medici. The grand duke probably would have compelled them, had not the overbearing power of Spain, which never ſuffered any of the Italian ſtates to decide their differences by arms, and beſides, always found in Genoa an ally, and one who frequently aſſiſted her in loans, which Ferdinando could not be prevailed upon to do, interfered.

Ferdinando exceeded all his predeceſſors in

Digitized by Google

in his eſtabliſhments, and Tuſcany became more formidable under him to his neighbours than it ever had been, both by land and ſea; he even gave one thouſand crowns yearly to Gaus Conſter Van Rattevan, to procure him Dutch ſoldiers: His gallies were reſpected throughout the coaſts of Italy—of the coaſts in the Mediterranean. Had his generals acted with equal ſkill, he would have added the iſland of Cyprus to his dominions. He aimed to have precedency above any of the Italian princes and ſtates, conteſting for place with Savoy, and was in hopes it would have been given him at the treaty of Vervins. When it is ſaid he wiſhed to precede all the powers of Italy, the papacy is not comprehended; that had long been triumphant over kings and emperors. Savoy and Tuſcany only were allowed to have their ambaſſadors covered in the royal and papal preſence, an honour denied to all the other princes of Italy.

His highneſs had alſo diſputes with Malta about the ſame important occaſion, and he



Digitized by Google

petitioned the queen of England to assist him, with her navy, to obtain that by force which he could not otherwise procure. Elizabeth declined any interference, except he was attacked; and as something like a submission was made, the matter was suffered to remain without any particular explanation.

Ferdinando, upon his great seal, and upon his money, was judiciously concise in his titles, but upon some occasions they ran to a length that was truly absurd. Think of a prince, whose dominions were not of greater extent than the county of York, enumerating his style thus: "Don Ferdi-" nando, by the grace of God, of Tuscany, " the third Grand Duke; of Florence and " Sienna, the fourth Duke; Prince of Ca-" pistrano; Count of Petigliano and Soians; " Lord of Porto-Ferario, in the isle of Elbe; " Lord of Castiglione, of Poscanio, and the " Isle of Giglio; and third Great Master of " the Religious and Military Order of St. " Stephen." Was a British monarch thus

to

to ſet forth all the titles of his various dominions, in the four quarters of the globe, they would fill a volume.

In his domeſtic adminiſtration, where his own intereſt did not interfere, juſtice was rendered with the utmoſt diſcretion and impartiality, and thoſe numerous banditti that infeſted every other part of Italy were deſtroyed throughout his dominions, almoſt as ſoon as he obtained them.

As well to prevent conſpiracies againſt himſelf, as to detect private frauds, he inſtituted the ſame mode of anonymous information, or impeachment, which diſgraces the republic of Venice—little receſſes in the walls of the palace, into which perſons might drop any packet.

Should ſuch a practice commence in Britain, more invective than impeachment would generally be received. It is by no means impoſſible but that Ferdinando had often cauſe to repent adopting what ſubjects the moſt innocent to be the objects of any one's



Digitized by Google

malice, who are wicked enough to meanly murder in ſecret.

Conſpiracies might be mentioned that had no foundation, only to alarm him, and perhaps ſome of his worſt actions were conſtantly repreſented to him, which muſt keep awake that conſcience he was anxious to lull to ſleep.

To prevent the odium of his unpopular acts, he threw the blame upon his miniſter, the archbiſhop of Piſa, a Piedmonteſe. It would be injuſtice to his character to omit mentioning, that he viewed his capital every day in his carriage, when he received, with the utmoſt cheerfulneſs, the petition of any one, however mean the perſon who preſented it.

By his regulations, not only Florence, but every other city in his dominions, were ſupplied, in the moſt exact manner, with all the neceſſaries of life, and at a fixed price; and his ſeverity was ſo well known, that a child might go and purchaſe any thing without fear of impoſition.

The

Digitized by Google

The citizens durſt not do more than murmur at any of his regulations, or even at his moſt unpleaſing acts, as another citadel was added by him to the two former ones, and built in a ſtronger manner than either of the others.

To increaſe his trade he gave every advantage to Leghorn, and put the moſt moderate duty upon what was exported; a conduct the exact oppoſite to Genoa, and by which ſhe loſt her trade, which went to Tuſcany.

Ferdinando ſet an example to his ſubjects in being the firſt merchant in his dominions. This enabled him to exceed his anceſtors in the magnificence of his buildings. The celebrated chapel of San Lorenzo, erected for a burial place for the grand ducal family, was amongſt the richeſt. There are more ſtatues and inſcriptions to his honour in Tuſcany, than to any of the Medici. His learning, and patronage of literature and



Digitized by Google

the fine arts, made him venerated by their profeſſors.

His averſeneſs to bodily exerciſe cauſed him to grow unweildy in the decline of life; his principal amuſement was in making antidotes, or preſervatives againſt poiſon; in the knowledge of which he exceeded all the practitioners probably in Europe. Happy had it been for him if his brother had known leſs of their effects.

His court was never crouded, perhaps from ſuſpicion, nor was it magnificent. His miniſters and ſervants were few, but ſuch as deſerved the poſts they filled.

He died, feared and reſpected by his ſubjects, and by Italy, Feb. 10, 1604.

His immoderate deſire for power made him unmindful how he obtained dominion, but when he had gained it, he uſed it with honour to himſelf and advantage to thoſe whom he governed. There is no doubt but that his reign would have been equally brilliant with that of his father's, had Italy afforded the

Digitized by Google

the ſame proſpect of aggrandizement to him, as it did to Coſmo. He more reſembled in his abilities, and the ſternneſs of his mind, the grand duke from whom he ſprung, than any other of the ſons of that prince who ſurvived him; and, like Coſmo, he was truly "a great wicked man."

As a brother, he was odious and deteſtable; Franceſco fell by his procurement: the only remaining ſon of his mother, Don Pietro, found a ſevere relation in him; a perſon who well knew, and had perhaps more than any other looked into this ſovereign's character, ſaid, upon a ſuppoſed reconciliation between him and Pietro, that "it might, peradventure, prove as dange-"rous as the enmity." He appears to have been no ſtranger to the unhappy fate of the grand duke, Franceſco; and though he was as ſevere and tyrannical to his family, as he was turbulent and tenacious to his neighbours, yet he obliged Pietro to return from Spain into Florence, as he alſo recalled, with an authority not to be diſputed, Virginio,



Digitized by Google

duke of Bracciano, his couſin, neither of whom loved to reſide in his dominions, nor perhaps to truſt his life to his mercy.

It was happy for Europe that he was ſovereign of Tuſcany, for had not that been, it is probable he would have been pope, and ſuch a character, compoſed as his was, of pride and cruelty, and poſſeſſing the beſt abilities, might have made the Chriſtian world tremble. His features were expreſſive of his character, compoſure, deliberation, and ſeverity. His medals were numerous, and his money the pureſt of Italy.

It might be wondered why a prince who had gained his diadem by ſo enormous a crime, ſhould not have immediately thrown off the clerical functions, and married, to raiſe up a family, the beſt ſecurity of a prince. Hypocriſy, a wiſh to delude the world, and hide the crime he had committed, no doubt at firſt greatly actuated him. The emoluments from his eccleſiaſtical preferments were deſirable, even to a ſovereign.

The

Digitized by Google

The influence it afforded in the court of Rome was conſiderable; though Sixtus, as wiſe and penetrating a man as ever ſat in the pontifical chair, governed from Franceſco's death, until ſome years after he had ſecularized himſelf. Ferdinando, whoſe ambition was the ruling paſſion of his ſoul, might flatter himſelf that the pretended valetudinarian, the crafty Sixtus, could not long ſurvive his advancement to the papacy, and then he would have moved all the powers on earth to ſucceed him, as in that caſe he would even have exceeded Leo X. and Clement VII. in dignity, wealth, and authority. Finding that Sixtus was made for a longer duration than he had ſuppoſed*, he at length liſtened to another kind of ambition, the hope of bequeathing thoſe honours he was in poſſeſſion of, to his deſcendants.

* Pope Sixtus V. lived until Aug. 27, 1590, aged 68. His ſucceſſors, Urban VII. Gregory XIV. and Innocent IX. died within little more than one year, their joint reigns not exceeding ſixteen months. Clement VIII. died in 1605; Leo XI. in the ſame year.

Ferdinando

Digitized by Google

Ferdinando married December 19, 1537, Chriſtina, daughter of Charles III. duke of Lorrain, a princeſs who extremely affected religion. Her devotion to the lady of Loretto may be gueſſed at by the liberal preſents ſhe made to that idol, the expences of which, according to her own hand-writing, amounted to eight hundred crowns, and theſe ſhe carried herſelf going in a horſe-litter as far as Recanali, in the Marche of Ancona, but then alighted with her ladies, and went in the ſame humble guiſe as the archducheſs Joanna had done; and Clement VIII. paid her a like reſpect in her journey, and return. After a ſtay of three days at Loretto, ſhe took her leave, and ſet out in her way home, but immediately diſpatched children to the church with gifts of princely magnificence; amongſt them were ornaments for the altar, prieſt, and miniſters, curled, ſays my author, three manner of ways, with gold and ſilver of admirable workmanſhip and art, linen for the altar of the fineſt materials, wrought all over with excellent pictures of the prophets,

Digitized by Google

phets, ſibels, apoſtles, and evangeliſts, curiouſly inſerted amongſt boughs and flowers, with ſuch elegant needlework that nothing could ſcarcely exceed it; ſhe alſo gave the fineſt veils for chalices. This ſpecies of devotion was occaſioned no doubt by the example of Joanna, and by an idea that a princeſs of her own family had been reſtored to health by ſuch a viſit, and ſuch preſents.

She ſhewed more ſenſe in the meſſage ſhe ſent to the Mareſhal d'Ancre, when he was at the height of his good fortune. "That ſince the winds grew high, and the "waves began to roll, he would do well to "think of ſteering into ſome port." To which he had the folly to reply, that, "whilſt his veſſel went before the wind, he "was reſolved to keep out at ſea, and to "puſh his good fortune to the utmoſt ex-"tent." He did ſo, and was loſt in the gathering ſtorm.

By this princeſs, Ferdinando had the numerous iſſue of five ſons and four daughters:

1. Coſmo,

Digitized by Google

1. Coſmo, his ſucceſſor.

2. Franceſco, born May 14, 1594, who choſe a military life, which was cloſed by an early death, May 17, 1614.

3. Carlo, born March 19, 1595, he was created a cardinal by pope Paul V *. December 2, 1615, and appointed dean of the ſacred college in 1652: he was head of the Spaniſh intereſt, and a friend to Venice; he never reſided at Rome but when the conclave ſat, and that only to oblige his brother, and nephew, preferring the court of Florence to the hurry and buſtle that attended the papal one: he was taciturn, witty, and devoted to his family; his death happened March 27, 1662.

4. Philippo, born April 9, 1598, and died March 27, 1602.

5. Lorenzo, born Auguſt 1, 1599; he went into the army, and died unmarried November 16, 1648.

* Paul V. ſurvived the grand duke.

6. Eleanora,

Digitized by Google

6. Eleanora, born November 10, 1591: ſhe died November 21, 1617, unmarried.

7. Caterina, born May 2, 1593; ſhe was married in March, 1617, to Ferdinando Gonzaga, duke of Mantua, and died in 1629.

8. Maria-Maddelena, born June 28, 1600, and died an infant.

9. Claudia, born June 4, 1604, and died December 25, 1648: ſhe married twice, firſt in 1621, to Frederic Ubaldi, prince of Urbino, who dying in 1623, ſhe then married in 1626, Leopold, archduke of Auſtria, who laid aſide the cardinalate for that purpoſe; he died in 1632, leaving the tutelage of his children to his widow.

CHAPTER

Digitized by Google

## CHAPTER XVII.

### THE LIFE OF COSMO II. GRAND DUKE OF TUSCANY.

THE life of Coſmo II. will evince this truth, that a wicked parent may be the father of an amiable character. Ferdinando was juſtly feared; Coſmo, his ſon, was ſincerely beloved.

This prince was born May 12, 1590, and ſucceeded to Tuſcany with greater advantages than any of his predeceſſors. He was related to moſt of the ſuperior ſovereigns of Italy, and to France and Spain; and by his marriage with Maria-Maddelena, daughter of Charles, archduke of Auſtria, he was ſtill nearer allied to the emperor Ferdinand II. Theſe great connections occaſioned him to act a more conſpicuous part upon the ſtage of Europe, than might have been expected by a prince of ſo ſmall a dominion.

Digitized by Google

a dominion. This was in ſome meaſure owing to a whimſical circumſtance.

The European courts ſtrove which ſhould be moſt abſurd about the marriage of their princes. It occaſioned at that time more deliberation to marry half a dozen young people, than the diſpoſal of ſo many provinces does in the preſent age.

Coſmo was threatened with great misfortunes. James I. the moſt powerful ſovereign in Europe, ſeemed to have a deſign of taking vengeance for the depredations the gallies of Tuſcany had made upon the Britiſh ſhips in the two laſt years of Ferdinando's reign. Sir Stephen Leiſieur, knight, who had been ſent a reſident to Florence to demand ſatisfaction from the father, now urged the buſineſs of reſtitution with greater force to the guardians of the ſon. Ferdinando had, after profeſſing the utmoſt regard for his majeſty, both before and ſince his acceſſion to the crown of England, declared his willingneſs, his happineſs, to remain amongſt the number of his allies, yet



Digitized by Google

would not liſten to the propoſals of Leiſieur, ſaying, the ſentence of his judges, in condemning the five Engliſh ſhips, carrying contraband goods, had been praiſed throughout Europe; and the utmoſt the reſident could obtain was, that Ferdinando would again read over the memoir, but Ferdinando then declared he would not alter a tittle.

Sir Stephen went over the old ground, flattering himſelf that the young duke durſt not refuſe the ſatisfaction demanded. Had the Britiſh lion rouſed himſelf, a ſevere vengeance muſt have followed, but James's pacific character, his bluſterings, and ambaſſadors were well known, and alike diſregarded. The unfortunate reſident, after five months ſpent in altercation, was obliged to leave Florence, without having the ſatisfaction to receive a chain of gold of four hundred crowns value; becauſe, as no real good had accrued to his royal employer, he ſcorned the proffered preſent. The only conceſſion from the grand ducal court was, that they would not allow the titles of earl and

and counteſs to Sir Robert Dudley and Miſs Southwell, whom he had enticed to follow him; which both Coſmo and his ducheſs gave their princely words they would not.

Coſmo eſcaped this affront to ſo great a monarch, but ſoon after incurred the indignation of France by a more ſimple circumſtance, where no emolument could accrue from it. France and Spain, long enemies, rivals alike in power and ſplendor, divided Europe by their aim at eſtabliſhing an almoſt univerſal dominion; and by their ſtruggle for precedency, and their equal capacity of doing miſchief, kept up a conſtant and unceaſing war amongſt the Chriſtian ſtates. Coſmo's agent in France, unmindful of the danger of interfering between two ſuch potent monarchs, very unwiſely, in a public manner gave the preference to Spain; Henry IV. enraged at his preſumption in inſulting him in his own kingdom, exclaimed, "He wondered that ſo petty a prince as Coſmo "ſhould pretend to adjuſt the place of the "kings of France and Spain;" and in re-



Digitized by Google

ply to what the agent ſaid about the greatneſs of the Tuſcan princes, and of their nearneſs to Auſtria, Sully, who hated the Medici, and regarded his own queen of that houſe with ineffable contempt, rejoined, they were a family newly ſprung up to the little conſequence they had gained; and ſaid alſo, that the Bourbons, whom he had inſulted, were infinitely ſuperior to the Auſtrian princes. The queen could not ſoften matters; Henry had a pleaſure in having an opportunity to ſatisfy his ſettled diſlike to her; the agent was recalled, and Henry with difficulty pacified.

It was Coſmo's intereſt to have Spain curbed in her power, which was become odious to Italy, whoſe princes ſhe treated more as ſubjects than ſovereigns; he however dreaded the conſequences of Henry IV.'s intended plan of altering the whole ſyſtem of Chriſtendom, to fix, as he viſionarily thought, the balance of Europe: in ſo general a change, the minor potentates had every thing to dread, and little to hope;

it

it was therefore, no doubt, a moſt deſirable thing for him that Henry was taken off, juſt at the commencement of his romantic enterprize. It cannot however enter into the head of any diſpaſſionate perſon, that this prince, whoſe every action was amiable, was engaged in the baſe plot that cut off the hero. If he fell by any other inſtigation than that of the fury of a mad enthuſiaſt, it muſt have been by the connivance of his inſulted, vindictive wife Mary de Medici, of whom ſuſpicions are entertained, with ſome plauſible, but no direct proofs. Coſmo, at the deceaſe of Henry, was but in the twentieth year of his age, yet ſome have been inconſiſtent enough to throw an odium upon his character, without any other foundation, probably, than that he was the couſin of Mary.

The death of Henry led to the hopes of peace, and vanity aſſiſted with her influence; the rival monarchs had each a ſiſter, their relations wiſhed to make them queens.

Coſmo, allied to France, offered his ſervices to promote the wiſh of each kingdom; Lewis and Philip met, and exchanged their ſiſters. This procured ſome repoſe to the Chriſtian world.

As the Medici had given two queens to France, the grand ducheſs dowager was moſt ſanguine that her family ſhould preſent one to Great Britain. An idea of this kind had been entertained ſo early as the year 1605; for the Mantuan ambaſſador had aſked Sir Charles Cornwallis, the repreſentative of the Britiſh monarch at the court of Spain, whether a marriage between Henry prince of Wales and a daughter of Tuſcany was concluded; to which Sir Charles replied, the grand prince was a great prince, and could give an ample fortune, yet his maſter was ſo potent a monarch, that he might expect the greateſt alliance the world could afford, and from the age of the prince he would ſoon have a right to judge for himſelf.

Coſmo, deſirous of promoting the honour

Digitized by Google

nour of the Medici, was not eaſily diſcouraged; he judged James would be pleaſed with ſo eaſy a method of filling his empty exchequer, but that monarch's pride was greater than his extravagance, or the want it occaſioned. He thought the monarch of Britain could not, with propriety, marry leſs than a daughter of France or Spain.

The queen-mother of France, whoſe vanity was equal to James's, refuſed to apply for a diſpenſation to the papal court, deſirous that Henry might marry Catherine her daughter; and that princeſs, won by the exalted character of the prince of Wales, conſtantly replied to thoſe who objected to him as a heretic, "She hoped ſhe ſhould have influence "ſufficient to reclaim him." The queen-mother always apologized for her conduct in wiſhing to marry her daughter to a proteſtant, by ſaying, that "even the ducheſs-"dowager of Tuſcany, whoſe devotion to "the ſee of Rome was ſo evident, did not "prevent her wiſhing for the ſame al-"liance."



Digitized by Google

James, to soften a refusal as much as possible, said he could not, consistently, close with the proposal, having before declined a like offer from the duke of Savoy, who declared, that he would not be surprised if a princess of France was preferred, but he should be extremely hurt if a sister of Tuscany was accepted *. Two or three million of crowns was no mean offer for a needy prince to be tempted with. Much to the minister, Lord Salisbury's honour, he objected to this match, and that too upon protestant principles. As to Henry he professed obedience to his father, expressed no wish for an alliance with any, but threw every reason-

* The duke of Savoy proposed a marriage between the Prince of Piedmont, Elizabeth, James's daughter, and another between Henry Prince of Wales, and his daughter. James said, his son was too great and too young for the princess of Savoy. As to his daughter, she should have liberty, that of conscience, marry whom she would, as the duchess of Lorrain enjoyed, and which Savoy objected to. "Never," says the British monarch, "will I abandon my child, if it would make her queen "of the world."—A speech becoming the father and the sovereign.



Digitized by Google

able obstacle in the way, as objecting to any one of the Romish faith. These negotiations are little known, even in Britain. Sir John Finnet mentions, that in 1614, Il Gravalto Francesco Guicciolesi, a Tuscan, requested and obtained the privilege of sitting amongst the nobility, as the former agent, and that of Savoy had, when invited to court, but he was only placed by a baron.

Cosmo's conduct, in regard to the quarrel between Savoy and Milan, does him the highest credit. Carlo-Emanuel, duke of Savoy, was the most turbulent and greedy prince that Italy then, and for some time, had been troubled with, had persuaded his daughter, the widow of Francesco, duke of Milan, to pretend she was in a situation to become a mother, to keep the cardinal Ferdinando Gonzaga from the succession, and when the pretended pregnancy could no longer be continued, he did not scruple to set even decency at defiance, by seizing part of the late duke's dominions, and annexing them to his own.

The cardinal was the friend and relation of Cosmo. The princes of Tuscany as much disliked those of Savoy, as the latter detested them. Cosmo espoused the cause of Ferdinando; he had new reasons for it: Savoy had, with contempt, declined his son's marrying a sister of the grand duke. He determined to march an army, therefore, to drive Carlo from his usurped acquirements. It was in vain Spain spoke in her usual dictatorial way; the Pope and Genoa refused leave for his troops to march through their dominions; not discouraged, he opened a private negotiation with Modena, whose duke agreed, that only a feint should be made at that part through which the arms of Tuscany were to march, just to preserve appearances. The grand duke by this means gained a footing in Mantua, drove Carlo's forces from the places they had seized, and restored Ferdinando to the whole of his dominions. An action that surprised Italy, and seemed bold and adventurous to all, considering how austere and dictatorial Spain then was. The young princes, to cement

Digitized by Google

cement their friendſhip ſtill firmer, agreed to a family alliance; Ferdinando reſigned his hat, and received Caterina de Medici, Coſmo's ſiſter, whom he had before hoped to have ſeen princeſs of Wales.

Nor was the aſſiſtance leſs efficacious, or better timed, that he gave to his brother-in-law the emperor. Ferdinand II. by his tyranny, had cauſed the Bohemians to revolt; they even threatened to deprive him of his capital; its citizens were mutinous, and held a communication with La Tour, the general of the malcontents, who commanded a conſiderable army in its vicinity, and againſt whom Ferdinand had only one hundred and fifty foot and two hundred horſe, though ſurrounded on all ſides by enemies.

The Bohemians ſeeing, as they ſuppoſed, that he was reduced to the greateſt extremity, forgot all reſpect, and rudely pulling him by his doublet, demanded the reſtitution of their privileges, and liberty of conſcience.

From

From this disagreeable, this critical situation, was the haughty Cæsar relieved by the timely arrival of a body of cuirassiers, sent by Cosmo, under the command of Santilier, a Frenchman, who, by passing under false colours, deceived the Bohemians, and forced them to fly from their enraged sovereign, whom before they had treated as a ruined, deserted monarch.

The most daring project of this prince, was his attempt to seize the rich tribute the grand sultan receives from Egypt; to compass which, he dispatched four gallies, completely equipped, under Beauregard, also a native of France. The governor of Sidon, or Sayd, in Syria, undertook to victual the fleet, having revolted from Achmet.

The grand duke's gallies sailed to Cyprus, where the admiral learned that the Turkish fleet, commanded by Mustapha Grego, consisting of forty gallies, and two galliasses, lay at Rhodes; he put to sea, and attacked them between Cyprus and Caramania.

Of

Digitized by Google

Of these ships they sunk five, and obliged the remainder to shelter in the next harbour. Though the design did not fully answer, yet it won the Etruscan flag great honour. The treasure on board a ship of the sultan's, amounted to fourteen hundred thousand crowns, and did not a little enrich the grand ducal treasury. In the action one hundred and thirty Turks were killed, and three hundred taken prisoners.

Cosmo was a formidable enemy against the Mahometan powers at sea. In 1612, his fleet had taken from the Turks the castle of Lango; and when, in the following year, Achmet meditated to send a vast force against Transylvania, his admiral, Inghirami, with consummate bravery, took, plundered, and burnt Angliman, freed one hundred and forty captives, and enslaved two hundred of the enemy, and bringing home many of the Turkish ships. The military order of St. Stephen tended, during his reign, to destroy and harass the enemies of commerce,

as well as to enrich the coffers of the ſovereign.

This prince was extremely beloved and reſpected by the contemporary potentates, and though he was a young man at his death, he was often named a mediator between powers, who ranked higher than himſelf in the political ſcale. This circumſtance was extremely flattering, and might lead him to renewing the wiſh of Coſmo I. his grandfather, in being declared king of Tuſcany. The pope received the propoſition coldly, declaring, that though he wiſhed him to be a king, yet not a king of Tuſcany; and one of his miniſters judiciouſly remarked, that, "it "was more glorious to be a great duke than "a petty king."

No ſovereign ever paid more attention to his ſubjects than he did, to whom he behaved more like the friend and father than the harſh ſevere maſter his predeceſſors had. The patronage of the fine arts was continued with the utmoſt energy.

The

Digitized by Google

The people of Tuſcany were extremely happy under him, but he was ſoon taken from them, to their very great grief. His weak conſtitution ſunk under its frequent attacks, which brought him to a premature grave, February 28, 1621, in the thirty-firſt year of his age.

Coſmo was bleſſed in the intire love of his ſubjects. His own virtues made him reſpectable in their eyes, and in thoſe of foreigners. He was happy in the fortunes of his children, though he did not live to ſee them grown up.

In his perſon he was handſome. His coins and medals exceed in elegance and execution thoſe of his contemporaries. It is obſervable that Oliver, the protector, copied his motto: "Has niſi perituru mihi "ademat nemo."

This grand duke married, October 9, 1608, when only eighteen, Mary Maddelena, youngeſt daughter of Charles duke of Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniola, and ſiſter to

Digitized by Google

to archduke Ferdinand, who afterwards became the ſecond emperor of that name. Her fortune was only one hundred thouſand crowns, but Philip, king of Spain, who had married her ſiſter, increaſed it, in money and jewels, to five hundred thouſand crowns. The devotion to the ſuppoſed holy houſe at Loretto, ſeemed to make a particular part of the religion of the Medici. Coſmo ſent thither the moſt ſuperb altar-cloth that any church had ever poſſeſſed. The princeſs, his wife, ſent two golden candleſticks, in the form of cornucopias, finely wrought with her ſhield of arms upon them, to faſten to the walls near the altar that was covered with Coſmo's rich preſent. Surviving the grand duke, ſhe became regent during the minority of his ſucceſſor, and died in 1631, aged forty-two years.

There was ſtruck a very large gold medal upon her death, giving her profile to the right, and veiled, inſcribed *Maria Magd. Archid. Auſtr. Mag. du Etr.* under the buſto the name of the artiſt. The reverſe exhibits a

bird

bird of Paradise, flying over a magnificent edifice; motto, *æthera*.

The issue of this marriage was five sons and three daughters.

1. Ferdinando, who succeeded.

2. Giovanni-Carlo, born July 4, 1611. He was a general at sea in the Spanish service, and in that capacity was sent to relieve Perpignan; in return for his fidelity and abilities he was created a grandee of that kingdom, and it was designed to procure him an advantageous alliance, but choosing to go into the church, he became prior of Pisa. He was the first cardinal created by pope Innocent X. November 14, 1644. He was deputed, with cardinal Frederic of Hesse, by Clement IX. as his legate, a latere, to escort the romantic Christina, queen of Sweden, to his capital, because they were brothers to sovereign princes, and on that account of the most elevated rank in the Sacred College. He died January 22, 1662. Giovanni-Carlo was in the same interest as his uncle the cardinal, whom he far

far exceeded in underſtanding. In the conclave "he was always the friend of his family in particular, and of Italy in general;" and he was "a perſon of that worth "that for thoſe twenty years he lived a "cardinal, he is ſaid to have been the glory "of the college," of which he was dean. The plate upon the cardinal's coffin bore this inſcription: *Serenis. Prin. Card. Joan Carolus ab Etruria pro Catholica Rege Summus Maris Præfectus* M.DC.LXII. Above was a cardinal's hat, and a galley with *Arandum vaſtum privs æquor.*

3. Mattheo, born May 9, 1613. He became a celebrated general in the Imperial army, and had the good fortune to obtain the ſtandard of the duke of Weymar at the battle of Nordlingen, ſo fatal to Sweden, and ſo fortunate for the emperor. This trophy of his valour was ſent to Florence as an honourable memorial; on one ſide of the ſtaff it bore this motto, "Joyfully to it, joyfully from it." Upon the other, "God grant it may proſper." Embroidered upon the two ſides was "with "God's

Digitized by Google

"God's aſſiſtance every attempt proſpers," and "ſine numine fruſtra." At the four corners B. D. S. W. the initials of Bernard Duke of Sax Weymar. General de Medici had apartments in the palace Pitti, and as a country reſidence a houſe at Lampeggio, a villa about five miles diſtant from Florence, where he employed Tempeſta in painting pictures repreſenting the actions of celebrated generals, and here he alſo had an armory. He was governor of Sienna, and died October 11, 1667, unmarried. The Florentine muſeum was enriched by him with many valuables.

4. Franceſco, born October 16, 1614. He alſo ſerved in the German army, and was, with his brother, very inſtrumental in diſcovering Walſtein's treaſon. This prince died a batchelor at Ratiſbon, July 25, 1634.

5. Leopoldo, born November 6, 1617; created a cardinal by pope Clement IX. December 12, 1667. His collections of pictures, and indeed of every thing that was



Digitized by Google

valuable, either for beauty, ſcarcity, or antiquity, were beyond belief. He ſpared no expence to procure the portraits of celebrated men: thoſe of the painters wrought by their own hands were of his obtaining. That he might never be without the pleaſure of viewing the features of illuſtrious characters, he had a cabinet, to which he gave the name of the Portable Gallery; this he took with him whither ſoever he went: it contained between three and four hundred portraits in miniature. This is now one of the moſt pleaſing and valuable articles in the Florentine Muſeum, where his ſtatue in a ſitting poſture is placed. It is equally deſerving attention from the perſon it repreſents, and the fineneſs of its execution. Upon the pedeſtal is, "*Omnis eruditionis, et elegantiæ aſſertor.*" Over his effigies is, "ſemper rectus, ſemper idem." Our countryman, Mr. Newton, ſaid, "that "none better deſerved a ſtatue, nor was "ever one put in a nobler place." Cardinal Leopoldo died November 10, 1675, of whom lord Corke juſtly ſays, "He had "judgment

Digitized by Google

"judgment and knowledge to direct, and "at the same time fortune and power to "assist his taste."

6. Maria-Christina, born in 1609, and died Aug. 6, 1622.

7. Margarita, born May 31, 1612, married in 1628, to Odoardo I. duke of Parma, and died February 6, 1679.

8. Anna, born July 21, 1616, married June 19, 1646, to Ferdinand-Charles, archduke of Austria, who died June 10, 1662. He was the eldest son of Leopold, archduke of Austria, by Claudia, daughter of the grand duke Ferdinando I. Their daughter, Claudia Felicitas, became empress by marrying Leopold I. The princess Anna died September 12, 1676.



Digitized by Google

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### THE LIFE OF FERDINANDO II. GRAND DUKE OF TUSCANY.

FERDINANDO II. was born July 14, 1610, and ſucceeded to Tuſcany when only ten years of age. The adminiſtration was lodged in the dowager grand ducheſs during his minority.

One of the firſt tranſactions that marked his approaching manhood, was his amiable behaviour towards Carlo Gonzaga, duke of Mantua; whoſe capital the haughty Cæſar had pillaged, ſeized his dominions, and put him under the ban of the empire.

Ferdinando, feeling for his friend, had before appointed a private conference at Maderno, a pleaſure-houſe upon the Lago di Gardi, where he laid before him his ſituation, and gave him ſuch advice as ſuited his beſt

Digitized by Google

heſt intereſts; he recommended him to give to Savoy, Monferrat, as Spain would in return give him an equivalent; but Carlo, raſh and obſtinate, could not prevail upon himſelf to embrace propoſitions that were ſo advantageous.

Perceiving now what he feared would happen, Ferdinando, to remove misfortunes ſo accumulated, with a diſintereſted regard ſeldom ſeen in a ſovereign, beſought the pope to plead in Carlo's behalf; and fearing that would not be ſufficient, went himſelf to Vienna, and ſo powerfully did he ſet forth the ill conduct of Savoy, and the hardſhip of Carlo's caſe, that he obtained a ſuſpenſion of the ban, and in the end the reſtoration of Mantua to its lord, though with ſome ſacrifices, but for which, had Carlo wiſely liſtened to the grand duke, he would have been indemnified.

Ferdinando took particular pleaſure in availing himſelf of the nearneſs of his relationſhip to the two branches of the houſe of Auſtria, reigning over Germany and Spain,



Digitized by Google

to ſoften the diſpleaſure under which any of the Italian potentates might fall with thoſe two ſevere and haughty courts.

Odoardo, duke of Parma, imprudently called in the French to garriſon his capital, to guard him againſt Spain, whoſe domination he had not been able to ſupport. Philip looked upon this meaſure as little ſhort of treaſon againſt his intereſt and importance; and preparations were making to chaſtiſe the temerity of the ill-judging Odoardo.

Ferdinando ſaw with deep concern a war upon the eve of commencement, fatal to Parma, and injurious to Italy; he therefore opened a treaty, and by his mediation it was concluded, through the means of his ſecretary at Milan, and with ſuch privacy, that the count St. Pol, the French commandant, was entirely ignorant of it, until by a maſterly manœuvre, he was obliged to quit Parma.

He not only intereſted himſelf to ſoften the ſtern decrees of Ferdinand and Philip, but

Digitized by Google

but guarded, with a jealous eye, any encroachment of his neighbours upon the rights of others. When the Barbarini brought odium and disgrace upon their uncle, pope Urban VIII. by their ambition, criminal intrigues, and tyranny, and it was seen that remonstrances were in vain; he armed, and had the honour of humbling them. He obtained not only a complete submission, but the restitution of the duchy of Castro, which they had seized on account of a debt Odoardo owed the papal bank, and had intended to disunite it for ever from Parma. Thus he twice saved his ally from destruction.

No transaction ever pleased Italy better than this triumph over Urban; it was said, "There was this difference between the "pontifical army, and that of the children "of Israel; for the marching of the latter, "the sea itself divided to let it pass; but "all the world seemed to close to prevent "the other."

The Barbarini were overwhelmed with



Digitized by Google

mortifications, they ſaw themſelves humbled by the Medici, whom they hated; in a former period they had fled from Florence, of which ſtate they had been nobles, as not chuſing to be ſubject to a family, as they ſaid, neither ſo ancient nor illuſtrious as their own. They had ſpent twenty millions of ducats in their ruinous war, and at the end of it, had the unhappineſs to ſee Odoardo ſlight their alliance, for the ſiſter of that prince who had ruined them. To ſum up the whole, though Urban was learned himſelf, and the protector of ſuch that were ſo, theſe his relations, having taken down ſome of thoſe ſtructures that Rome had bequeathed to them by their great anceſtors, the people ſaid, "What the barba-" barians left, the Barbarini deſtroy;" this, with their rapacity and extravagance, made them univerſally odious.

Nor is it leſs to Ferdinando's honour, that when the emperor, his uncle, was ſinking from the war that deluged Germany in blood, and involved it in almoſt a common

Digitized by Google

mon ruin, that he aſſiſted him both with troops and money, and ſent his brothers to the Imperial ſtandard; and it was well they reached it, for in their journey they nearly fell into the hands of the peaſants of Upper Auſtria, who had revolted.

The conduct of the grand duke was the more acceptable, as all the other Italian ſtates, as if by general conſent, refuſed Cæſar the ſmalleſt ſupplies in his misfortunes: they would not even receive his ambaſſadors. In vain he urged to them that it was a religious war, and that they ſhould ſupport him as the protector of the Roman Catholic faith.

His mandates and intreaties were equally ineffectual. The pope, who leaned to the Proteſtant intereſt, to curb the exorbitant power of Auſtria, declined receiving his ambaſſador, under pretence of his being a cardinal. Lucca, that epitome of a ſtate, refuſed the ſupplies demanded. When the Imperial ambaſſador came to Mantua, the duke, pointing in ſilence to the ruinous condition

Digitized by Google

condition of his capital, cautioned him of the danger of remaining where his maſter had ſpread his cruel devaſtation ſo wide; and it was with difficulty he was ſaved from inſtant death.

In a word, no monarch ever fell from the height of human power and grandeur to contempt and wretchedneſs, more than this ſucceſſor of the Cæſars, whom he exceeded in ungovernable pride, and the ſevereſt oppreſſion, and whoſe bigotry and pride had become intolerable.

There were no ambaſſadors or agents at the court of London at the death of king James, nor were any ſent to congratulate his ſon Charles, but when Ferdinando ſucceeded, he ſent a ſplendid embaſſy to notify his acceſſion; in the train were three or four knights of Malta and St. Stephen; one ambaſſador dined with his majeſty, as did the Poliſh ambaſſador, July 15, 1621, at which time they took their leave. The Poliſh ſat on the left ſide at the lower end of the table, and the Florentine at the end of it.

Their

Digitized by Google

Their ſuite dined in the council-chamber. After dinner, the ambaſſadors had their audiences of his majeſty, and alſo of the prince.

The unhappy Charles found ſome relief from the grand duke in his diſtreſſes, though probably ſmall in proportion both to his wants and wiſhes; becauſe lord Jermyn, whom that monarch had ſent to obtain loans of the Italian ſtates, ſaid, that they were "a frugal generation."

His affinity to the crown of theſe realms occaſioned the parliament to treat the Tuſcan agent, Segnior Amerigo, in 1642, with the groſſeſt violation of his privileges; for breaking open his doors, they ſearched every part of his houſe, under pretence of diſcovering ſome Romiſh prieſts, and to the ſatisfaction the grand duke peremptorily demanded for this ſhocking breach of the law of nations, he obtained little more than a bare apology.

His highneſs's court was the aſylum of diſtreſſed princes; the duke and ducheſs of

Digitized by Google

of Lorrain, who had been put under reſtraint by that able but cruel miniſter, cardinal Richlieu, effecting their eſcape from Nancy, fled to Florence, in the dreſs of gardeners. Ferdinando received them as their merit deſerved, and misfortunes called for.

Manſour, the youngeſt ſon of old Facardine, the brave Emir of Sidon, whom his father had given in hoſtage to Amurath IV. eſcaping from the priſon of the ſeven towers in Conſtantinople, by means of a Greek prieſt, fled to Ferdinando, who received him with the utmoſt urbanity, and promiſed him both ſhips and money to aſſiſt him in re-eſtabliſhing the Druſes in their ancient rights, that they might be enabled to take vengeance of the tyrant who had ſtrangled his father.

Ferdinando had the honour of entertaining Chriſtina, queen of Sweden, when ſhe paſſed through Tuſcany in her way to Rome: at this time however ſhe was little more than a royal fugitive, lamenting the loſs of that power ſhe had ſeemed ſo much to deſpiſe.

He

Digitized by Google

He alſo gave to the Ruſſian ambaſſadors, going to the papal court, a reception as ſplendid as the rank of the ſovereign they repreſented demanded.

Our Charles II. when an exile, was amongſt the number of diſtreſſed princes to whom he afforded relief, adding to his commiſeration ſupplies; and ſuch gentlemen who had ſuffered for their loyalty to that ſovereign, or his royal father, if they came recommended from the little court at Bruſſels, were certain of being received at Florence with peculiar marks of favour.

He qualified this behaviour to a prince, related to him, who had been expelled his dominions, by his condeſcenſion to thoſe who had uſurped his power, and particularly to the protector Oliver, to whom he ſent preſents of choice wines and other things; but any attention to "Charles Stuart," was certain to be reſented by the perſon who ſwayed his ſceptre.

Oliver, to put an affront upon him, treated the marquis de Leida, his ambaſſa-



Digitized by Google

dor, with great haughtineſs, as knowing, perhaps, he could not more ſenſibly hurt his dignity; for this reaſon he ſcarcely moved his hat at the audience of De Leida. As it had been foreſeen, it gave his highneſs extreme mortification; and he ſent to thoſe Engliſh gentlemen, reſident in his dominions, to enquire how Charles I. had given audience, and received ambaſſadors from other ſovereigns.

Ferdinando was tenacious to the greateſt degree reſpecting his rank. He had ſtrenuouſly, in the late reign, at the Britiſh court, contended, by his ambaſſador, with the duke of Savoy for precedency; and at that of Madrid with the Grand Maſter of Malta; but he was far from being fortunate in either.

He went farther, for he would not permit a gentleman, whom the court of Spain had ſent into Italy, to ſound the different ſtates reſpecting their ſentiments of the quarrel between her and Genoa, to ſit, or be covered in his preſence, becauſe he had not the credentials of an ambaſſador, though he had

Digitized by Google

had expreſs orders to demand thoſe privileges. He refuſed likewiſe to publicly entertain Lewis XIV.'s ambaſſador, upon his return from Rome, when he found that his maſter had entered into an alliance with Cromwell, as he feared that an attack upon Spain would be made ſomewhere in Italy.

The frequent and reciprocal complaints, made both by England and Tuſcany, have already in ſome meaſure been noticed; in the quiet government of James, much had been ſaid but nothing done; the turbulence of the reign of Charles I. forbad any, if there had been any juſt cauſe of offence given. In the ſubſequent years to that monarch's unhappy death, many umbrages had been given to the ruling powers.

Prince Rupert had carried into the ports of Tuſcany ſeveral merchant ſhips, taken from their republican owners, and ſold them there. And when commodore Appleton, with his ſquadron, and that of the Dutch, lay in the road of Leghorn, November 26, 1652, it was ſuppoſed that Ferdinando

Digitized by Google

Ferdinando had given the latter a decided preference; the circumſtance was this, the nations were at war, and Appleton ſent captain Cox, with three boats of picked men, to ſeize the Phœnix, a ſhip taken from the Engliſh near Elba, in an action that the fleets had juſt before had, and which then made a part of the enemy's ſquadron. The gallant enterprize ſucceeded; young Tromp, her commander, had only time to leap over board, and ſwim to another ſhip; and the veſſels neareſt never noticed it until they ſaw the ſhip ſailing away.

The grand duke, to eſtabliſh the freedom, as well as neutrality of his port, inſiſted upon the Phœnix being returned, or in caſe of refuſal the Engliſh were commanded to quit Leghorn. A cruel alternative to Appleton, who had only ſix ſhips, whilſt the Dutch admiral, Van Galen, had ſixteen men of war, a fireſhip, and ſeveral merchantmen, who, deſirous of dividing the ſpoils of the Engliſh, had joined in the engagement, and were ſtationed before the harbour

Digitized by Google

harbour to intercept them. The Engliſh commodore ſent to Bodley, who bore the ſame rank in the navy, and who lay at Elba, with two men of war, a fireſhip, and four merchantmen, which had been in the engagement, to appear off Leghorn, whilſt Appleton made an attempt to eſcape. Bodley complied, though he, from the loſs of men in his ſquadron, and having many merchant ſhips under his convoy, laden with fifteen hundred bales of ſilk, and other rich goods, could not engage. Van Galen fell into the ſnare, but Appleton, by too haſtily coming out, betrayed the deſign, upon which the Dutch admiral giving up the purſuit, tacked about, fell upon Appleton's ſquadron, with nine of his ſhips, leaving the others to watch Bodley. The conſequence was, that the Engliſh, after the moſt gallant reſiſtance, were all either taken or deſtroyed, except the Mary, who eſcaped to Bodley. The rival commanders were each unfortunate, Appleton became a priſoner to Van Galen, who ſoon after died of a fever, occaſioned



Digitized by Google

by having had one of his legs broken in the action.

All theſe circumſtances conſpiring, induced Cromwell to take a ſevere revenge upon Ferdinando, as well as to chaſtiſe all the other powers bordering upon the Mediterranean ſea, for the depredations they had committed againſt Britain during her civil war. Blake, therefore, was diſpatched with a ſufficient naval force; he came firſt to Leghorn, where he demanded one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, the value of the ſhips prince Rupert had ſold, and for a reparation for the injury commodore Appleton's ſquadron had incurred, by being obliged to leave Leghorn in ſight of a ſuperior fleet of the Dutch, then at war with England.

Ferdinando in vain exclaimed, that, as to the Engliſh ſhips, the pope had made part of the purchaſe. Blake's orders were peremptory, either to receive the whole ſum immediately, or burn down the place. Finding the danger of an abſolute refuſal, a negotiation

Digitized by Google

a negotiation was entered into, and the demand moderated to ſixty thouſand pounds.

Alexander VII. returned what was the debt of the court of Rome, but the greater part of the money was defrayed from the grand ducal treaſury. And Cromwell ever after gave orders for his ſhips to act as their conveniency demanded, whilſt in the Mediterranean ſea, which was ſo diſagreeable to Ferdinando, that he ſaid his ports were always blocked up by the Britiſh navy; but he took care never more to act in open defiance of the protector's power.

The duke, much as he reſpected Oliver's greatneſs, would not comply with his requeſt of having a chaplain at the Britiſh factory at Leghorn, though the Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, had places of divine worſhip allowed them; yet though Mr. Charles Longland, the protector's agent at Florence, ſaid Blake, the victorious Blake, "wrote "a well penn'd letter" to urge it, the favour was denied. He knew the wild fanaticiſm



Digitized by Google

that raged in Britain, and would not be perſuaded to countenance it in the ſmalleſt degree. Four quakers came to Leghorn; two of them were going to Egypt, the others upon what they thought a call to convert the grand ſultan, Mahomet IV. by his expreſs command they were forbidden to remain in his dominions more than three days. To Oliver he often ſent preſents of the choiceſt wines. February, 20, 1654, Geo. Batti Gondi, his principal ſecretary of ſtate, informed his preſident Salvatti, the duke had ſent twenty-four more caſks, as a ſign "of his moſt obſequious obſervance to his "highneſs." If Ferdinando was inſincere in his profeſſions of regard to Oliver, he admired him as the greateſt man of his age. He procured a model of him, from which is taken a buſto now in the Florentine Gallery. The duke of Grafton has a copy of this; two drawings from it, with the greateſt condeſcenſion, his grace permitted the author of theſe ſheets to have the choice of, to adorn the two laſt editions of the Cromwell's memoirs. Immediately after Cromwell's

Digitized by Google

well's death, as if one reſemblance of him was not ſufficient, his agent, in England, purchaſed a portrait of him, by Walker, from a lady related to him, at a price ſhe had named, though ſhe had mentioned the ſum only, as a polite manner of declining, what ſhe did not chuſe to refuſe a ſovereign: ſo conſiderable was its coſt. It is now placed amongſt the celebrated generals in the Florentine gallery.

Though Ferdinando reſpected Charles I. loved and pitied Charles II. admired and dreaded Oliver, deſpiſed Richard, and hated the republicans, yet he had uniformly acted prudentially, in congratulating the uſurping powers upon their obtaining the ſovereignty; but he paid his devoir with much greater ſincerity when Charles II. was reſtored to the throne of his anceſtors.

Intereſt and affection united him to the Britiſh monarch; he knew the power of her navy, he had felt its dread effects, to it he looked for protection from the daring inſolence of both France and Spain. The



Digitized by Google

ſubjects of Charles enriched his dominions by their trade to his ports. He was prevailed upon by the court of London, to permit the Engliſh to openly exerciſe their religion at Leghorn, until the pope interfered.

In the latter part of his reign he was ſtill more attached to Charles and his ſubjects, for the kindneſs the grand prince had experienced from his majeſty and the nobility, in his viſit to England; and, to expreſs his ſenſe of the obligation, gave the king two new large elegant gallies to protect Tangiers; and one of his laſt cares was, that Lord Fauconberg, the Britiſh ambaſſador, then drawing near to his dominions, ſhould be entertained with the utmoſt cordiality and ſplendor, predicting that, from the nature and ſtate of his illneſs, he could not ſurvive long enough to receive his excellency. His fears were verified, for he died about ten or twelve days before that nobleman came to Florence.

Lewis XIV. of France ſucceeded to all that

Digitized by Google

that ambitious pre-eminence that the houſe of Auſtria had ſo long retained; and, upon the impolicy of the Cæſars, and weakneſs of the Spaniſh crown, built up a tyranny that was more intolerable than that which he had deſtroyed.

The vain and ambitious monarch of France gave the prince of Tuſcany a daughter of Orleans, an honour that moſt of the minor ſovereigns envied. He did Ferdinando greater reſpect, he choſe him mediator between himſelf and pope Alexander VII. The pontiff's guards had given ſome affront to the duc de Crequè, the French ambaſſador at Rome, for which the haughty monarch had ſeized Avignon, and threatened to march an army into the papal dominions to chaſtiſe the indignity his repreſentative had received. So inconſiſtent was Lewis, that he ruined vaſt numbers of his moſt induſtrious ſubjects, becauſe they would not comply with the Romiſh creed, whilſt he was meditating the deſtruction of that very power that promul-



Digitized by Google

gated it, his vanity and pride were even greater than his bigotry. The negotiation was carried on in Piſa, under the eye of Ferdinando, and at length the important point was adjuſted, the eccleſiaſtical potentate was obliged to lower his tiara to the crown of France, and by a very humiliating apology deprecate the vengeance of his moſt chriſtian majeſty. This was a new and extraordinary ſight in Europe, and was the beginning of that degradation that the ſovereign pontiffs at preſent experience, when compared to former centuries.

The grand duke diſliked Spain, yet courted her as a rival againſt France, to check that aſſuming arrogance which was felt, and raiſed the indignation of all Italy, as much as her power had alarmed the reſt of Europe. Though he had allied himſelf to the court of Paris, he felt her preſumption.

When the duc de Crequè came to Florence, in 1664, in the ſame character he perſonated at Rome, he was ordered by his ſovereign

Digitized by Google

ſovereign to take precedency of the heir of Tuſcany, which Ferdinando thought ſo extravagant, that the young prince never appeared during his ſtay; Mattheo, the younger brother of the grand duke, received his excellency at the city gate, and the ſovereign at that of his palace.

Great ſolemnities were uſed, and every appearance of public feſtivity to gratify the vanity of the grand monarque; but the temper of the French was ſo oppoſite to the Italian character, that the utmoſt extent of the latter's gaiety was conſtrued into a formality bordering upon criminality. So hateful at length did the French appear at Florence, that, diſguſted with theſe new modellers of taſte and manners, he obliged all the domeſtics of the princeſs to quit his dominions, being no longer able to bear either their inſolence or licentiouſneſs; lamenting, in all probability, his having formed ſo near an alliance with them.

The care his highneſs took to prevent the plague from entering his territories is deſerving

Digitized by Google

deſerving of the greateſt commendation; Italy was over-run in every part with this dreadful ſcourge, and it ſwept off more than one half of the inhabitants of Rome and Naples; yet, by his uſing every precaution that human prudence could ſuggeſt, he intirely prevented that dreadful malady making the leaſt appearance in Tuſcany. His gallies began to be infected, but, by inſtant and proper remedies, the diſorder even there ſoon diſappeared.

As Ferdinando attributed this ſucceſs to the patronage of the Mother of Chriſt, he ſent, according to the ſuperſtition of his family, to Loretto, a miſſal, the cover of which was embelliſhed with twelve topazes; and this was accompanied with a ſilver galley, four feet in length, and two cubits high, weighing forty pounds; it was inſcribed, "Ferdinando Medices, grand duke "of Tuſcany, dedicated this to the bleſſed "Virgin, Mother of God, for preſerving "his gallies from the plague."

No prince ever took more care of his ſub-



Digitized by Google

jects than Ferdinando; to secure his coasts from the barbarians, he spared no expence in naval armaments. In 1642, the knights of St. Stephen took thirty-five gallies from the Mahometan pirates. These sea forces secured his coasts, protected commerce, and insured the freedom of his ports.

Savoy had endeavoured to establish a free port at Villa Franca, in Piedmont, and had given liberty of conscience to all who came there. Ferdinando did the same to all except the protestants, and those he gratified a little time. Though he was both averse to give them an indulgence they experienced at Venice and Villa Franca, and feared a direct breach with the papal court, yet he omitted nothing else that could contribute to the ease and commodiousness of all foreigners, to induce them to settle there. He drained, cleared, and enlarged the harbour, and improved both the town and country round it.

It is singular, and will give pleasure to the reader to learn, that these improvements

Digitized by Google

ments were made by the perſuaſion, and under the direction, of a Briton, Sir Robert Dudley, ſon of the Earl of Leiceſter, who ſettled at Florence in the laſt reign. This truly great man drained a vaſt moraſs between Piſa and the ſea; and improved the haven of Leghorn by a mole, and raiſed this place from a mean and pitiful town, to a large and beautiful one; and by his influence and correſpondence, drew many Engliſh merchants to build houſes there. Lord Fauconberg ſays, within ſixty years Livorna had not one thouſand perſons, but now is reported to be increaſed, by trade, to thirty thouſand; of theſe nine thouſand were Jews, ſix thouſand ſtrangers, and about one thouſand ſoldiers, the reſt Italians; but his lordſhip thinks ſix thouſand might be deducted; even then it was a vaſt number.

The grand duke was very grateful to Dudley, he ſettled upon him a penſion of two thouſand ſequins, equal to nine hundred pounds, gave him the caſtle of Corbello,

Digitized by Google

bello, on the Arno, with other grants. He took his grandfather's title of Duke of Northumberland, and the emperor created him a prince of the empire. Charles I. gave his lady and two daughters the rank of the wife and daughters of a duke. He died in 1639. By Miſs Southwell, whom he ever affected to treat and account his wife, he left a daughter, who inherited his perſonal eſtates.

His juſtice was exemplary; ſudden guſts of paſſion in Italy are generally looked upon as an excuſe for the greateſt enormities, even for murder: Ferdinando thought otherwiſe; ſuch offenders were ſure, as well as others, to meet a puniſhment anſwerable to their crimes: the churches afforded no protection; ſanctuary to ſuch was unknown in Tuſcany, whilſt in all other parts of Italy theſe wretches were allowed to bid defiance to all juſtice and decency.

He alſo gave up to, and required of, the neighbouring ſtates, any malefactor that fled from the laws. All perſons who had fire-

arms

Digitized by Google

arms were obliged to have a licence, nor was any one ſuffered to walk with a weapon after a particular hour in the evening. No ſtranger could be admitted into Florence without ſending his name to the governor, who regularly took the keys of the city to the palace every night. By theſe, and other ſuch prudent regulations, his dominions were better protected againſt diſorderly people than any other.

Though theſe ſeem ſevere reſtrictions, yet in Italy, where a culprit can in a few hours eſcape to another ſtate, they are almoſt abſolutely neceſſary. His domeſtic government was, it muſt be allowed, very ſevere, his taxes oppreſſive; many left his dominions on that account.

The Piſans particularly diſliked him; they deteſted the Medici, and compared their former ſplendor with their preſent humbled ſituation; once they had four hundred thouſand inhabitants, and could ſend from one hundred and thirty to one hundred and forty gallies; then not more than ten

Digitized by Google

ten thouſand, and one-third of them in the church, and conſequently in a ſtate of perpetual celibacy. Piſa containing no leſs than twenty-two monaſteries and ſeventeen nunneries, the leaſt of them had ſixty perſons, and many one hundred, and beſides theſe, five hundred ſecular prieſts. Of Franciſcans only, in 1648, there were one hundred and eighty men, and two hundred and ten nuns. In the city were twenty-ſix thouſand houſes remaining.

Such a proportion of eccleſiaſtics was certainly a very unwiſe meaſure in a prince, as it muſt in time have ſwept off not only entire cities, but even depopulated the whole country. Probably ſome of the Piſans went to the neighbouring town of Leghorn, and as the reſt were ſo averſe to the Medici, Ferdinando might have no objection to their rapid decreaſe.

He evidently greatly improved his dominions, and that tended to enrich his treaſury. His revenues were raiſed to four hundred thouſand pounds; half of which maintained

Digitized by Google

ed him, and he was ſuppoſed to have three millions and an half of pieces of eight in bank. As ſome excuſe for his love of money, he urged that a rich treaſury was the greateſt ſtrength and ſecurity a prince could have, ſaying, Charles I. was ruined only for want of money.

If, however, the taxes were heavy, their application was good; for, beſides a moſt excellent government in many reſpects, their riches were uſed to improve, to beautify, and adorn their country. He built the fortreſs of Prato, one of the ſtrongeſt in Tuſcany: it has been ſeen what he did near Piſa, and at Leghorn. The greateſt patronage was continued to the learned, and to genius in every line. To keep up good-humour, the people were entertained with a variety of amuſements.

His conduct to his relations was extremely meritorious; he ſent his eldeſt ſon to make the tour of Europe. He married his ſiſters to Parma and Auſtria. He ſaw all his uncles and brothers provided for.

Finding

Digitized by Google

Finding it inconvenient not to have friends in the conclave, he procured his brother, Giovanni-Carlo, to be preſented with a red hat; and upon the death of his uncle, Carlo, he obtained Leopoldo, another of his brothers, to be admitted into the ſacred college.

This was certainly providing in the beſt manner poſſible for them, by raiſing them to a rank then accounted equal to that of crowned heads. It was, however, a great misfortune in the end, as he had the unhappineſs to ſee all the males of the grand ducal houſe die, except Leopoldo, and his own deſcendants, without leaving any legitimate offspring: an evil without its remedy.

The grand duke's behaviour to foreigners was equally deſerving praiſe; receiving thoſe of diſtinction in his chamber of audience ſtanding, nor would he ſuffer them to ſpeak until they were covered, as well as himſelf. From his affability, communicative temper, and native wit, no one could



Digitized by Google

retire without being highly charmed with his reception.

To many of our countrymen diſtinguiſhed reſpect was paid. The honourable Mr. Boyle, the philoſopher, he invited to a correſpondence. Mr. Greaves, in return for the civilities he had received, addreſſed a Latin poem to his highneſs. Mr. John Price was intruſted with the care of his medals. Sir John Finch*, the Engliſh reſident, was preſented with two cabinets, and Dr. Baines with a golden chain, for having given him Engliſh horſes, Iriſh dogs, and what perhaps he prized more, Dr. Walton's Polyglot Bible: many other inſtances of a like nature might be mentioned.

Upon ſtate occaſions, his court was magnificent; at other times he lived as retired as was conſiſtent with the ſituation of a prince. His principal amuſement was in

* Sir John Finch, F. R. S. was probably related to Sir Henry Wotton; Sir Henry's mother was a Finch, and that ambaſſador might qualify him for the poſt he filled.

taking

Digitized by Google

taking the air with the reſt of the grand ducal family in carriages. He never uſed more than four horſes in his own, the grand ducheſs ſix, and ſhe was always maſked, but this parade was confined only to high feſtivals.

He divided his time between Florence, Piſa, and Leghorn; in the latter he uſually ſpent Lent, becauſe he could have the beſt fiſh, and at the cheapeſt rate. During the hot months he drank no wine, nor any ſtrong liquor. In the afternoon he conſtantly took his fieſto, at which time the ſtreet in which the palace he reſided in was locked up, that no carriage by paſſing might diſturb him.

Mr. Style, then at Florence*, gives this

* Mr. Style was eldeſt ſon, and heir apparent to Sir Tho. Style, of Watringbury, Kent, Bart. who died before his father, leaving only an infant ſon, who died ſoon after him. This gentleman wrote "A Voyage "made through the Low Countries, Germany, Italy, and "France; begun in the yeare 1669, ended in 1671." It remains in MS. in the hands of Sir Charles Style, Bart. It is a very ſelect performance.



Digitized by Google

relation of the death and burial of this prince: " This May 27, 1670, dyed the " greate duke Ferdinand, of an appoplexy " and dropſey; foure dayes after, his body " was embalmed; and lay in very greate " ſtate 8 dayes, being dreſt in all his robes; " afterwards buried in St. Lawrences, the " funerall was very auguſt, beginning about " nine; and they were from that time till " one in the morning, before it was finiſh- " ed; there were 1500 monckes with ta- " pers, all the biſhops, and archbiſhops of " his dominions; all the knights of St. Ste- " phen in their roabes, viz. white ſattin and " crimſon velvett; the preſent greate duke, " accompanied by princiſſe Franceſco his " brother; their mourning cloakes carried " up; after the corpſe ſeverall led horſes, " and the duke's owne pad, an Engliſh " horſe; all the officers of the late duke, " with their broken baſtoones, a horſe " guard of Germans, beating a dead march: " laſtly, a great number of coaches, with " ſixe horſes, finiſhed the ceremony. At " St. Lawrences chappell dore, the pope's " nuntio,

Digitized by Google

" nuntio, and other prelates, received the " body, who placed it under a very rich pa- " villion, while the panegyrick was ſpeak- " ing; then putt it in the vault. Sir John " Finch was pleaſed to procure mee a " window in the pallace of the duke of " Strozzi."

Ferdinando died March 24, 1670. He had great depth of judgment, well knew the intereſt of Italy, and ſteadily purſued it through the whole of a long reign. Probably ſhe was more indebted to him than to any of his contemporary princes. In his perſon he partook of the German, inheriting the Auſtrian lip of his mother.

It is wonderful to reflect that the Medici, ſo late become ſovereigns, whoſe origin was mean, and their riches acquired by traffic, ſhould ſo ſoon mix their blood with thoſe of the greateſt monarchs, and that they ſhould acquire ſo much importance in Europe, when their territories were only one hundred and fifty miles one way, and one hundred another; when many princes, whoſe



Digitized by Google

dominions were ſo much more conſiderable, were of little or no account in the ſcale of European politics: But a peculiar fate often ſports with whole families, and even nations, raiſing up the weak and throwing down the moſt potent. A German genealogiſt cannot diſcover the father of Rudolph I. from whom ſo many emperors and kings have deſcended, and who have made the world tremble with their conqueſts. What is not Ruſſia and Pruſſia become in the memory of ſome now living!

Ferdinando married September 26, 1623, Victoria Poſthuma, the ſole child of Franceſco-Ubaldo-Antonio, hereditary prince of Urbino, by Claudia, daughter of the grand duke of Tuſcany, and grand-daughter and heireſs of Franceſco-Maria, the laſt duke of Urbino. She brought to the Medici all the valuables and perſonal riches of the ancient family of de la Rovere. Her father was cut off in 1623, two years after his marriage, by intemperance in liquor, he was found dead in his bed, probably from ſuffocation,

Digitized by Google

ſocation. She had been brought up by the old duke, who, though fond of her, adjudged it his duty to yield up his dominions to the papacy, from which it had been granted, and he thought it a male fief. He therefore concluded a treaty with pope Urban VIII. in which a particular ſum was allowed him for canon and other perſonalities of that nature, and he reſigned up his duchy in 1626, and died at his caſtle of Durante in 1631. It was a wiſe act thus to ſettle this matter in his life time, as otherwiſe it might have been of ill conſequence to Italy, as the ſword would have otherwiſe decided claims that were of too much conſequence for treaties to have accompliſhed. The grand ducheſs was married, or rather betrothed, when only eight years of age. She was beautiful, ſtately, and auſtere. She died May 24, 1670, ſurviving the grand duke but a little more than a month.

By this princeſs, Ferdinando had three ſons and two daughters.



Digitized by Google

1. Coſmo, born January 20, 1639, who lived but a few hours.

2. Coſmo, who ſucceeded.

3. Franceſco-Maria, born November 12, 1660. He did great credit to his tutors, the marquis Horatio Balacti Norli and count Philippo d' Elci, afterwards maſter of the ceremonies. He obtained the grand priory of Malta, in Piſa; the abbey of St. Galgano, in Sienna; and pope Innocent XI. as well to oblige the grand duke, his brother, as to ſhew his regard for the order of Malta, created him a cardinal-deacon, in 1686. He ſhewed good judgment in his government of Sienna, and great prudence in his negotiating the marriage of Joſeph, then king of the Romans, with the daughter of John-Frederic, duke of Hanover, in 1699. The emperor Leopold, and Charles II. of Spain, united in appointing him cardinal, and protector of the whole dominions enjoyed by the houſe of Auſtria; but declaring for the Bourbons in the war for the ſucceſſion of Spain, he loſt the favour of Germany. This was amply ſupplied to him, by

Digitized by Google

by his having the ſame office conferred upon him by the Bourbons, over thoſe kingdoms they governed. He was induced by the perſuaſion of his family, much againſt his own wiſhes, to reſign his hat, and, July 14, 1709, marry Eleanora-Louiſa, daughter of Vincent Gonzaga, duke of Guaſtella. He ſurvived his nuptials but a ſhort time, dying February 3, 1711. Upon his coffin was this inſcription:

Franc. Maria Princeps ab Etruria
Primo S. R. E. Cardinalis
Mox vxore Dvcta obiit iii. Febr.
M. D C C. X.

It might have been happy for the brothers had they changed their ſituations. The ſubjects of Tuſcany would not, it is ſuppoſed, have been ſo grievouſly taxed, nor the Medici probably have wanted one of their name to have bequeathed their dominions to. His widow re-married, in 1719, Philip of Heſſe d'Armſtad, governor of Mantua.

4. and 5. Two daughters, who died infants.

CHAPTER

## CHAPTER XIX.

### THE LIFE OF COSMO III. GRAND DUKE OF TUSCANY.

COSMO III. was born Auguſt 14, 1642. There had been the greateſt pains taken in this prince's education; and his father, to complete it, let him make the tour of Europe. He was received with particular reſpect at the Britiſh court. The pleaſing luxurious Charles and his nobles, ſtrove, by all the means in their power, to render him every gratification. Coſmo came to London, April 5, 1669. May 1, he viſited Cambridge, and on the 3d the ſiſter univerſity. Doctor Echard, in his hiſtory of England, gives many particulars of his reception. On the 31ſt of that month, he entertained, at his St. Alban's houſe in St. James's fields, the Britiſh monarch, and his majeſty's brother, the duke of York, and on the following day he took his leave,

Digitized by Google

leave, and ſailed for Holland. Amongſt the ſeats he ſaw of our higheſt gentry, none gratified him ſo much as Wilton, the reſidence of the earl of Pembroke; its coſtly muſeum was worthy a prince's inſpection, and even of the peruſal of the heir of Tuſcany.

His highneſs acceded to the throne of his anceſtors in the following year. None of his family had ever received their power with ſo many advantages, he ſeemed the happieſt of ſovereigns—but he had an enemy to his felicity that conſtantly attended him, and from which there was no hope of eſcaping. It was his unhappy temper, and which poiſoned all his enjoyments.

Mr. Style, ſpeaking of Tuſcany, upon Coſmo's acceſſion, ſays, " that his dominions had 500 walled towns, beſides many ſtrong forts on the confines; he can raiſe, at any time, an army of 40,000 foote, 5000 horſe, 12 gallies, 4 galleaſſes, and two gallions, and twenty ſhips of warre; the duke's guard of 200 Germans, as many Switzers, make

make him appear as ſtately as feared. The revenues of this prince are reckoned 1,000,000 and a half of crownes; 'twas thought he found in his father's treaſury 70,000,000 millions of crowns, beſides jewels and plate. The datii and incomes of Leghorne are vaſt revenues to him. His territories contains 3 archbiſhoppricks, that of Piſa, Sienna, and Florence, and 20 biſhoppricks."

Of the young ſovereign Mr. Style had the greateſt opinion, for, ſays this gentleman, "Coſmo the 3d, preſent greate duke, "is a prince that hath been a greate traveller, and hath viſited moſt of the "prince's courts in Europe, truly deſerving "the character Homer gave of Uliſſes, "maintaining him to be the wiſeſt of all the "Græcians, uſing noe other argument, but "that he hath travelled much and had "ſeene multorum hominum mores et "urbes, and certainly noe prince hath ever "read more in the greate booke of the "world than himſelfe. His greate riches, "his noble pallaces, his traine and retinue,

"both

" both of officers and guards, makes his " court appeare the moſt ſplendid of " Italy. Beſides, he willingly admits of " ſtrangers' viſits; and, if perſons of quality, " receives them ſtanding, and afterwards " ſends them a preſent of wine, ſweet-" meats, et cæt." And ſome time before he wrote this he gives a particular inſtance of condeſcenſion in Coſmo to himſelf, for he relates, that he had not been long walking in the garden of Poggio Imperiale, with Sir John Finch, before the grand duke, Coſmo " came thither, as his cuſtom is every night, " to take the aire. The reſident, ſeeing " that opportunity, was pleaſed to preſent " me to his highneſſe, who received me " with more civility than if I had beene " his equal, and ſpoke much in commen-" dation of England." Mr. Style alſo mentions the breach that had been between Coſmo and his ducheſs, telling his readers that for two years he never ſaw her, until reconciled in 1666. The perſons of greateſt conſequence in Tuſcany, he remarks, were Duca di Strozzi, Duca Salviatti, Marcheſe Riccardi,

Digitized by Google

Riccardi, Marcheſe Guadagna, Marcheſe Caponi, Signor Falconieri, Signor Lorenzo Magallotti, Primo Gentilhuomo della Camera de ſu Altezza Serenima, and Signor Vaſcone *. This deſcription of the prince and court, upon his attaining the grand ducal honours, appears very juſt, and is a ſtriking contraſt, between the capricious, retired, fanatical Coſmo in the decline of life.

Mr. Style, ſpeaking of the public entrance of the Engliſh ambaſſador into Florence, ſays, "June the eight, 1670, my "lord ambaſſador Falconbridge made his "entry into Florence. Att Laſtra, eight "mile from the citty, Sir John (Finch) "mett him, and I, through his favour, "obtained one of the court coaches. When "arrived I mett my old friend Mr. Withers "there, we had all a very noble dinner, "prepared att the greate duke's charge. "About five in the afternoon wee ſett out "towards Florence; about three mile "from the citty the Marqueſſe Salviatti

* Mr. Style ſays, he was particularly obliged to Guadagna and Magallotti.

"mett

" mett his excellency, as trattenitore; att
" the garden-gate, the prince Franceſco-
" Maria, the duke's brother, mett my lord:
" thus we paſt through a long alley of the
" garden, with a traine of ſome five and
" thirty coaches, and ſixe baggage mules,
" with feathers, ſilver plates, velvett co-
" vers, and trappings: Att the back ſtairs
" his highneſſe mett him, and he had his firſt
" audience that night; afterwards the em-
" baſſadour, and all of us, ſupped at Sir
" John's, it being the king's birth-day:
" Then the embaſſadour, and all his train,
" retired to court, where they were lodged,
" and entertained from Sunday night till
" Wedneſday, when he departed for Ve-
" nice. The greate duke preſented him with
" damaſk, velvets, and his picture inamelled
" in gold, and beſett with eight greate
" diamonds, the whole preſent valued att
" 2000 pounds ſterling. The ſame com-
" pany waited on my lord into towne,
" waited of him out. The gentlemen that
" were of my lord's traine, to my beſt
" remembrance, were Mr. Sanderſon, my



Digitized by Google

" lord's nephew, Sir Rob. Winfield, bar-
" ronett, Mr. Rolles, Sir John Rolles, ſonne
" of Devonſhire, Mr. Fitz-Williams, Cap-
" tain Cope, Mr. Withers, Mr. Bellaſis,
" Mr. Challoner, Mr. Floid, Capt. Rolt,
" Mr. Eaton, Mr. Blagwaite, Mr. Daniel.
" —The ſame day, Wedneſday, June 11,
" tooke poſt for Rome."

His father, in 1661, had married him to the beautiful Margaret-Louiſa, daughter of Gaſton-John-Baptiſta, duke of Orleans; and this princeſs had been conducted by his uncle, Mattheo, to Tuſcany with the greateſt reſpect. She was received in Florence with a ſplendor exceeding any thing Italy had ſeen for ages. The fond and doting Ferdinando, the father of the bridegroom, had prepared a marriage-bed, more coſtly than can well be imagined. The poſts were ſilver, enamelled in different parts, and embelliſhed with various coloured jems, poliſhed; its value was exceſſive. " Fine
" feathers make fine birds, but they do not
" make happy ones."

Margaret,

Digitized by Google

Margaret, educated in the court of Lewis XIV. where all was love and pleaſure, could little reliſh the etiquette of Florence. Coſmo was frugal, gloomy, retired, and a devotee; qualifications little calculated to win affection, or wean her attachment from Verſailles.

The grand ducheſs, who alone could have moderated theſe diſagreeable circumſtances, ſeemed pleaſed only in correcting her French ſprightlineſs, and bringing it to the ſtandard of Italian decorum.

Mutual upbraidings enſued; it is impoſſible to ſay, whether Coſmo moſt deteſted French manners, or ſhe moſt deſpiſed thoſe of Italy. Her native attendants engroſſed all her confidence, and the meaneſt males were objects of jealouſy to him; they had been ſent to France in the late reign.

This only heightened her diſguſt, ſhe appeared ſeldom in public, and then, like her mother-in-law, always maſked. At laſt, tired out with an haughty parſimonious huſ-



Digitized by Google

band, where she hoped to have met with an attentive admiring one, she quitted that nuptial bed, which had been provided with so much care, and slept with her nurse, who was still suffered to remain with her.

At last, no longer able to bear Florence, she besought the duc de Crequè, as he passed through that city in his way to Rome, to procure a divorce, and the repayment of the forty thousand pistoles, which had been her fortune. Though this could not be procured, she resolved, some time after the death of the grand duke, Ferdinando, to return to that kingdom that had given her birth, and so many happy years. Lewis XIV. though he blamed her precipitation, yet received her with tenderness.

If we justly condemn that pride which marked her conduct to a sovereign, and an husband, in forbidding the arms of Bourbon to be used with those of Medici, we must much more that want of maternal tenderness

Digitized by Google

tenderneſs that could permit her to deſert her children.

On the other hand, we muſt deſpiſe the auſtere huſband, whoſe ſeverity was alike unnatural and inexcuſable. Lewis propoſed terms of reconciliation; which were, an invitation from Coſmo to Margaret to return to Florence; payment of her debts, and an equal influence with what the grand ducheſs Victoria had received. Theſe beſpeak that the French monarch looked upon the huſband as the moſt blameable. Coſmo replied, if ſhe would return, he would receive her with tenderneſs; that as he had always allowed her a ſum adequate to her rank, he ſhould pay no debts contracted by extravagance, and want of œconomy; and that when ſhe ſhould ſhew the ſame regard to the intereſt of Florence, an equal attention ſhould be paid her to what his mother had received.

From the time Coſmo acceded, an uniformity of dulneſs pervaded Tuſcany; his whole attention, though ſo young a man,



Digitized by Google

ſeemed to be a deſire of adding to the already enormous ſum the late ſovereign had left in his treaſury, nor did the ſighs and murmurs of an already oppreſſed people prevent his increaſing their burdens. No article, no convenience of life was untaxed. Avarice, the vice of age, is always odious; in young perſons it is deteſtable. Every bleſſing, every enjoyment, every profuſion, offered itſelf in vain.

His court was the moſt private, and leaſt expenſive of any in the world. He had few courtiers, and his miniſters, who filled the higheſt departments, had moſt trifling ſalaries.

He had a council, it is true, but it conſiſted only of the Marquis Riccardi, chief ſteward, and Conte Bardi, the ſecretary of war, and prime miniſter; Conte Novellara, a great favourite, was lord chamberlain; Marquis Vitelli, captain of the guards; the Marquis Corſini, maſter of the horſe; Marquis Cerbon del Monti, maſter of the wardrobe;

Digitized by Google

wardrobe; Dante di Caſtiglione, who accompanied him into England, was the firſt gentleman of the bed-chamber; Signior Leonardo Tempi, a merchant by profeſſion, though a gentleman by birth, was treaſurer; and Ferranti Caponi and Auditore Farnula, were judges in criminal matters; the former of whom was alſo attorney-general in eccleſiaſtical affairs. Theſe nobles and gentlemen had much of his confidence, except the two latter, but Riccardi and Bardi were entruſted with all his ſecrets.

In matters of ſtate, il principe Franceſco, a youth of eleven or twelve years old, was, according to the cuſtom of the court, deputed to receive ambaſſadors at their coming, and to ſee them at their departure. None of the other princes of the family remained alive, except cardinal Leapoldo, who, diſguſted with his nephew's conduct, reſided at Rome.

The forces at ſea, which had been ſo conſiderable, were, at the commencement of his reign, reduced to three gallies only. All his



Digitized by Google

ſervants were at board wages; and they, as well as his miniſters and guards, having leſs than was proper to ſupport their ſituation, preyed upon all whom buſineſs forced to the palace, and no others came there, becauſe none met with encouragement but informers. Thoſe who ſaid moſt againſt their neighbours were beſt received. How much compaſſion do the ſubjects of ſuch a prince deſerve! Every thing at Florence bore a melancholy and cloudy appearance. Diſtruſt and hypocriſy were ſubſtituted for mirth and chearfulneſs.

The hatred and jealouſy of the Italians for each other is extreme, a ſelfiſhneſs is ſuppoſed to pervade the whole, the conſtant attendant upon ſo many ſtates occupying ſo ſmall a ſpace. It is a proverb, that "Seven Jews make one Genoeſe, and ſeven "Genoeſe one Florentine." Each power in Italy ſaw with mingled wonder and envy the riches acquired by the freedom of the port of Leghorn, and conſequently hoped at leaſt to rival Tuſcany in her advantages.

Savoy

Digitized by Google

Savoy threw out her lure at Villa Franca; the pontiffs at Civita Vecchia, where a good harbour and arſenal was provided; Genoa at Spezzia, where an harbour of conſiderable conſequence was alſo made. Coſmo, alarmed at what ſeemed rivalling him in the tendereſt point, depriving him of part, and a great proportion too of his revenues; to prevent what he ſo much dreaded, he ſpared neither negotiation or money. He was here liberal, almoſt every where elſe parſimonious. They have ſince been declared free, but Leghorn flouriſhes equally as when they were not.

In all other reſpects his mind ſeemed wholly occupied with trifles. The houſe of Savoy, the conſtant rival of the Medici, wiſhed to obtain ſome diſtinction ſuperior to the latter; for this purpoſe, in 1697, the cardinal Janſen importuned the pope to allow the duke of Savoy the honours of the royal chamber, in reward for the peace he had procured Italy, and though in reply it was ſaid, "if his holineſs gave him regal ho-



Digitized by Google

"nours for the peace, he ought to deny him "ducal ones for having firſt lighted up the "war," yet at length this idle pageantry was permitted. Royal Highneſs was placed amongſt the foremoſt of the honours of Savoy; and thoſe princes, to make it ſtill more ridiculous, aſſumed the ſtile of king of Cyprus, which, for any thing they had to do with it, might have been in another world without the ſmalleſt detriment to their power.

Coſmo burnt with fury to have equal honour. He had not the moſt diſtant claim upon any kingdom, but as his wiſhes interfered with no one's rights, and his deſire might be gratified without the ſmalleſt ſacrifice to the wealth or repoſe of a ſingle individual, except the envy of Savoy, he received the pompous but empty title, yet not without very great and inceſſant pains, and expence. This acceſſion to his felicity conſiſted of placing a bar upon his diadem, to be ſtiled Royal Highneſs, and written to Sereniſſimo, whilſt his ſovereign brethren

in

Digitized by Google

in Italy and Germany, kept up to highneſs, and ſerene, except the doge of Venice, and the electors of Germany; the firſt was alſo ſereniſſimo, and the latter electoral highneſs.

Except this, and matters equally inſignificant, religion alone engroſſed his mind; or, to give it an appropriate rational name, the moſt abſurd ſuperſtition. This uſurped the place of rational piety.

The treaſure that was obtained by the heavieſt and moſt ſevere impoſitions, was laviſhed to purchaſe the different parts of the human body. The hand of ſuch a ſaint, or the toe of ſuch a confeſſor, were acquiſitions of the utmoſt importance. The regalia of Tuſcany would have been endangered by the offer of a whole dried, or pickled martyr.

The greateſt part of each day was ſpent in a routine of devotions to different altars in the churches of Florence. The night litanies of the Annunciada were duly frequented. Loretto was viſited, and the richeſt

Digitized by Google

richeſt preſents offered, amongſt others a chandelier of pure gold, weighing eighteen pounds.

Theſe follies were nothing comparable to thoſe he was guilty of at Rome, at the commencement of the preſent century. Innocent XII. received him at the jubilee with the utmoſt magnificence and amity. His viſit was too flattering to the papacy, and profitable to himſelf to ſlight.

Coſmo, upon receiving ſome of his darling relicts, gave the meſſenger two hundred piſtoles, and ſent in return to the holy father jewels and money to a very conſiderable amount.

At a feſtival of ſo great repute as a centenary jubilee, none of the pageantries of the Romiſh religion were omitted, amongſt the greateſt of theſe fopperies was that of diſplaying what is called the holy handkerchief, which it is pretended our bleſſed ſaviour uſed as he was led to crucifixion, and upon which the features of his face were miraculouſly imprinted.

Coſmo

Digitized by Google

Cosmo was seized with the frenzy of embracing the sacred linen. Judge then his consternation and grief, when he was informed that none but the canons of St. Peter could be permitted to that honour, and that even his holiness could not give permission to any other, how great or elevated soever.

Not discouraged with this, he intreated, that he might become an ecclesiastic, a canon of St. Peter. Innocent gave him a brief for that purpose. Arrayed in a surplice he assisted in the ceremony of displaying it to the people, and to shew his authority his brief was read to the multitude. To gratify his vanity still more, he was permitted, in his new character, to give his blessing to seventy thousand devotees that stood beneath him.

Whilst he was prostrate before the high altar of the magnificent chapel of pope Pius IV. he perceived his holiness, the sovereign pontiff, approaching; leaving his station, he crept upon his knees to the



Digitized by Google

papal chair. Innocent requeſted his royal highneſs to ariſe, "No," replied he, "permit the grand duke of Tuſcany to adore "the vicar of Chriſt, with that veneration "that is due to him." No ſooner had he left the church, than he ſent the pope a picture of the annunciation, valued at two hundred thouſand crowns.

He often dropt the ſtyle of ſovereign of Tuſcany, and was known only by the title of count Pitigliano. A lady, ſeeing him before the altar, in another church than that juſt mentioned, and finding, upon enquiry, that he was a Florentine of diſtinction, ſolicited, in the moſt earneſt manner, that he would intercede with the grand duke, her ſovereign, to repeal the ſentence of baniſhment paſſed upon her huſband. The ſuppoſed count promiſed his intereſt in behalf of the unfortunate gentleman, and he ſoon received a pardon.

Another time, acting in his clerical capacity, a fair penitent, confeſſing the ill life ſhe had led, and expreſſing the earneſtneſs of

Digitized by Google

of her desire to reform, he ordered her five hundred crowns to procure admission into a convent.

What a debasement for a sovereign prince was this, to degrade himself to the condition of an ordinary priest. Cosmo ought to have been a shaven monk. What a misfortune it was that he did not live some centuries sooner; he would have made a first-rate saint. Perhaps he did not despair of being red-lettered.

From these fantastic, fanatical reveries he was awaked by the contention between the houses of Austria and Bourbon, who strove who should give a sovereign to Spain. The emperor, Joseph I. had trampled upon all the rights of the princes of Italy. His tyranny to them seemed unbounded.

Cosmo, therefore, united with his neighbours in wishing success to that succession the late king, Charles II. had made, but he dreaded the British navy, which, under William III. had obliged him, though very

Digitized by Google

very reluctantly, to acknowledge him as the legal poſſeſſor of James's vacant throne.

What had almoſt as much influence was the fear that if he, or his brother, declared in favour of Bourbon, the cardinal would loſe the patronage of the empire and Hungary, as knowing how dangerous it would be to truſt to France's profeſſions of indemnity. According to the refined policy of Italy, Franceſco left Rome upon Innocent's death, that by not entering into the conclave he might not betray his ſentiments in the election of a ſucceſſor.

The Medici received ſevere retorts for their duplicity. The lady of count de Lamberg, the Auſtrian ambaſſador, pretended to be under great concern, leſt the cardinal's viſiting might give offence to France. He replied, "his Catholic ma-"jeſty's livings were too valuable to be "thrown to cocks." She retorted, his frugality was ſuitable to that of his family, who owed their elevated rank to it.

Coſmo, with all his caution, and that of his

Digitized by Google

his brother, was ſurpriſed into a declaration of Philip, the grandſon of Lewis XIV. having the beſt claim to the Spaniſh monarchy. The young king unexpectedly arrived at Leghorn, in his way to Spain, and diſconcerted all the cautious plans of the Medici; decency demanded he ſhould wait upon Philip, thither he went in his galley.

Judge, however, at the grand duke's diſtaſte to the haughty reception he met with; the monarch, his relation, treated him with a ſtately ſupercilious diſtance, he never aſked his royal highneſs once to be covered, though the grandees of Spain, of the moſt illuſtrious rank, conſtantly appear with their hats on before the Catholic majeſties.

The cardinal, then at Rome, purſued his plan of neutrality: he covered the arms of his potentate over the entrance of his palace; a cuſtom uſual with the cardinals. When theſe became uncovered again, the arms of both France and Auſtria appeared quartered in the ſhield. There is ſeldom much uſe in endeavouring to pleaſe two contending

Digitized by Google

contending parties, neither were entirely pleaſed. Auſtria thought ſhe was inſulted by having the eagle appear in a lower part than the lillies of France, and Lewis was diſſatisfied that the eagle made its appearance any where.

Auſtria deprived Franceſco of the ſpiritual protectorſhip of Germany; but France, in this inſtance, fulfilling her engagements, he became the guardian of two puiſſant monarchies, France and Spain. He was, in conſequence, in 1702, naturalized in both kingdoms: happily for the brothers, the war did not ſpread into Italy, or probably they would have felt the eagle's talons.

Coſmo was honoured with another royal viſit; Frederic, king of Denmark, came through Tuſcany in his way to Rome. The Daniſh monarch was treated at Florence with the utmoſt magnificence. The frugality of the court was for a time ſuſpended. Frederic admiring the grand ducal jewels, amongſt which was the famous diamond de Medici, and the choice topaz,

Coſmo,

Digitized by Google

Coſmo, with a politeneſs unuſual to him, ſaid, "The former was a fidei commis from "my anceſtors; I purchaſed the topaz, "and hope your majeſty will honour me by "accepting it." The royal Dane expreſſed his thanks, but declined the glittering prize, and retired.

To perpetuate the memory of the royal viſit, Coſmo ſtruck a medal with the king's buſto on one ſide, inſcribed "Frede. IIII. "Daniæ. Norw. Rex." and upon the reverſe this legend, Fæliciſſimo Adventi. Florentiæ, 1708.

It is ſingular, Frederic declined entering the magnificent churches in Florence; but by an inſcription in a ſynagogue it appears he was there. His ſubjects might fear his becoming a Roman Catholic, but would never think of his becoming a proſelyte to Judaiſm.

Coſmo was unfortunate in his family, which conſiſted of two ſons and a daughter. Ferdinando, the eldeſt grand prince, was a character made up of contradictions: he

was profuse, dissipated, attached to the fair sex, and a slave to his servants; one of those mutilated human beings, that disgrace Italy, Francesco, formerly an opera singer, engrossed his confidence. This minion in a few years had remitted to Rome one hundred thousand crowns. To please whom he quarrelled, not only with the grand duke, his father, but with the princess, his wife, nor could the breach be closed, but by the advances of the father through the wretch that had occasioned it.

This prince, who joined to these defects, a person by no means pleasing, and whose behaviour was haughty and forbidding, who could leave Florence to mix with and enjoy the buffoonery and debauchery of the carnival at Venice, was one of the greatest patrons of the fine arts that then lived, vying with the most illustrious of his ancestors in purchasing whatever was deserving his attention, and in encouraging those who excelled in any branch of learning or science.

Ferdinando

Ferdinando was to have married Maria-Iſabella, Infanta of Portugal, only daughter of Pedro II. by his queen, and who, as then heireſs of that ſovereign, promiſed a kingdom to her huſband. Coſmo wiſhed to ſtipulate, that if Portugal went to the eldeſt ſon of the marriage, Tuſcany ſhould go to the ſecond, not bearing the idea of his dominions being only a province to a kingdom, and that a diſtant one. Pedro would not conſent, the marriage fell to the ground; and in the end the king, by a ſubſequent queen, had ſons, and the princeſs died unmarried in 1699, aged thirty, and was then contracted to the duke of Savoy.

The grand prince therefore had married, in 1688, Violante-Beatrice, daughter of Ferdinand, elector of Bavaria, and ſiſter to the dauphineſs of France. If Ferdinando was ſo ſtately as to ſalute none, Beatrice even exceeded him in the loftineſs of her carriage, not permitting any of the ladies of Tuſcany to pay their duty to her, except expreſsly invited; many of thoſe of conſi-



Digitized by Google

derable quality were denied the privilege of the anti-chamber.

She affected religion, and ſuppoſed that if ſhe was a mother ſhe ſhould ſee a reform in Ferdinando's conduct: to whom could ſhe apply ſo well, as ſhe thought, as our Lady of Loretto, the patroneſs of the Medici; to gain an intereſt there ſhe ſent rich preſents, and ſupplicated all the ſaints in the Roman calendar to be propitious to her prayers, to give an heir to Tuſcany, but in vain; Ferdinando, worn out with his debaucheries, died at the age of forty, in 1713. Of whom a noble and elegant author ſays, "He was a martyr to Venus, and a diſciple "of the Graces."

Violante became governeſs of Sienna, where ſhe was much beloved; once a year her ſervants acted a play of her own writing at Poggio Imperiale; muſic and poetry amuſed her widowed days: ſhe ſurvived until 1731.

The ſterility of this marriage was long foreſeen; Coſmo therefore took every poſ-



Digitized by Google

ſible precaution in marrying his other ſon to a lady likely to give an heir to the Medicean honours; a princeſs who was left a young widow, and had healthy children, was fixed upon. Giovanni-Gaſton married the daughter of Sax Lanenberg, and dowager of a palatine of the Rhine; but this marriage was attended with no better ſucceſs.

The Medici ſaw no heir to their dominions; fearful of the conſequences, the cardinal Franceſco-Maria was prevailed upon to ſecularize himſelf, and marry. He reſigned his hat in 1709, and ſoon after married Eleanora Louiſa, of Guaſtella, a beautiful young princeſs; but after two years he died, probably his end was haſtened by a change of life at his advanced age.

To add to theſe misfortunes, Coſmo's daughter became a widow, and having had no child, ſhe returned in 1717, a year after the elector palatine her huſband's death, to the court of her father, making the third childleſs widow; a ſad prognoſtic of what was to happen.



Digitized by Google

The ſovereign houſe of Medici was declared by all the world to be expiring, and unwilling to wait until that event happened, many claimants appeared, unwilling to loſe their chance by not making an early application.

The dominions of Tuſcany were made up of many parts, upon each of which different claims might be brought by various princes. The Florentine and Piſan ſtates were held of none, and ought to have been adjudged perhaps to the Medici of the Ottojano line, ſettled in the kingdom of Naples; as the neareſt of the male line, though very diſtant, and before the Medici were ſovereigns. If theſe had no claim, it ſeemed allowable for the reigning family to bequeath them to ſome deſcended from their females, ſince they had become princes.

Sienna, called the New State, and part of the Iſle of Elba, was held of Spain; which crown ought to have had its diſpoſal. Part of Graffignana, the earldom of St. Fiora, the marquiſate of Scanzana, and the

earldom

earldom of Pitigliano, purchaſed of the Malaſpina, Strozzi, and Orſini, with ſome other ſmaller places, were held of the empire, and Radicofani, and Borgo San Sepulchro, of the papacy.

The Medici of Ottojano, unallied with any ſovereign, had only ſilent contempt for any claim they could ſet up. The great monarchs of Europe behaved with little leſs ceremony to Coſmo; they adjudged the reverſion of the whole to the queen of Philip V. of Spain, the heireſs of Parma, and who ſeemed, as repreſentative alſo to the Medici, after the exiſting line, to be beſt entitled to what was allotted her. So fine a principality as Tuſcany, with Parma alſo added, was not ſufficient to ſatisfy one of the moſt ambitious and intriguing princeſſes that lived in the eighteenth century. She wanted to ſeat her eldeſt ſon upon the throne of Naples, the ſucceſſion to that of Spain going to the ſon of Philip by a former marriage. The quintuple treaty fixed the matter unalterably.



Digitized by Google

If the treaty was diſgraceful to Coſmo, the conditions of it were more ſo; they were next to ſuperceding him, whilſt he and his ſon were living. Six thouſand Swiſs troops were to garriſon Leghorn, Porto Ferraro, as well as Parma.

The impolicy of Coſmo, and the inſignificance of his character, cauſed what muſt have been regarded as extremely improper and indecent. The Spaniſh court neither reſpected him, nor were ſatisfied, though his dominions were adjudged to her prince. France had been diſguſted with his uſage of his ducheſs, a princeſs of the houſe of Bourbon. The emperor diſliked him for ſacrificing his intereſt in the ſucceſſion to Spain; and Great Britain, becauſe of his predilection for the abdicated family, and his conſtantly ſupporting the Roman Catholics againſt George I.

Coſmo made ſome feeble remonſtrances againſt this infringement of the rights of independent ſovereigns, and then ſunk into his uſual ſtrain of religious folly. His ſub-

jects

jests caught the contagion, and Tuscany exhibited little else than the most ridiculous excesses of devotion; hypocrisy, in the guise of religion, was every where to be met with.

The austere monks of La Trap were invited into the grand duchy; and when Cosmo could no longer expose himself in public, he contrived to continue his pious vagaries in his palace. By a curious piece of mechanism, the statues of the numerous saints in the calendar of his church made their appearance each upon the proper day of his festival; and this weak mortal prostrated himself before the workmanship of his ablest artists.

In such idle fancies did he spend the remainder of a long life, dying October 31, 1723, the oldest sovereign in Europe, having held the sceptre for sixty-three years, without having performed an incident worth recording.

His longevity was owing to his great temperance, and the excessive care he took of

Digitized by Google

of his health. For the laſt twenty years of his life, his conſtant beverage was water. His food was plain; he eat but of one diſh, and always alone, except upon the feſtivals of St. John, and other peculiar days, when his family were ſummoned to join him. He never approached a fire; the method he had to warm his apartments was, to have his attendants remain in them ſome time before he came.

He divided his time between Florence, Piſa, and Leghorn, as his father had done. Except his religious whimſies, chymiſtry was his principal amuſement. Thoſe of that profeſſion and phyſic were ſure to meet with encouragement in Florence. He often ſent, in ſuperb boxes, medicines, perfumes, and eſſences, to his contemporary princes; and nothing could pleaſe his vanity ſo much as to have his friends apply to him for medicines prepared by himſelf—with one exception—extolling him as a ſaint.

His conduct to his children was amiable. His behaviour to his wife rigid and impo-

litic,

litic, and which was puniſhed ſeverely in himſelf. Had he been a fond and pleaſing huſband, he might have been the father of many children, ſome of whom would probably have continued the ſucceſſion.

The gratitude which he, upon all occaſions, ſhewed the Engliſh for the civilities he received when in Britain, deſerves great commendation. He made many noble preſents to ſuch of our grandees, or others, whom he remembered, when in this kingdom, and preſented ſeveral of our nation with curious and valuable things, and the choiceſt wines of Florence.

Several were enrolled among the knights of St. Stephen, and many of our artiſts were patronized by him. His condeſcenſion and affability to all ſtrangers were highly laudable. To the Engliſh he behaved with the utmoſt familiarity, and none went away from his court without being pleaſed with their reception, though they all were diſguſted with his conduct

conduct towards his own ſubjects. At the ſolicitation of queen Ann he built a church at Leghorn for the uſe of the Engliſh proteſtants *.

He

* Sir Thomas Derham was, about 1687, appointed envoy extraordinary to Tuſcany, and conſul at Leghorn. He was of the family of Weſt Derham, in Norfolk, where he built a magnificent ſeat in the Italian ſtile. Signior Terrieſi, at the ſame time was ſent here as reſident.

Upon the acceſſion of James II. the grand duke ſent over the marquis Caponi as envoy extraordinary. He had an audience of their majeſties, January 2, 1685-6, on the 4th of the queen-dowager, on the 6th of her royal highneſs the princeſs Ann, on the 7th of prince George of Denmark her conſort; and February the 2d he had his audience of leave.

Signior Gizaldi was the reſident in England in king William's reign.

In queen Ann's reign a more cordial correſpondence was kept up; ſhe ſent ſir Samuel Blackwell, knight, as both her envoy extraordinary and conſul at Leghorn, who was ſucceeded by Henry Newton, Eſq. and Coſmo diſpatched Signior Zeſterini, as his envoy extraordinary to her majeſty.

At the acceſſion of George I. the marquis Rarcuncini was ſent to England, in the ſame capacity, to congratulate his majeſty; he had his audience March 3, 1715.

He

Digitized by Google

He had a great affection for the royal houſe of Stuart; but in their misfortunes he afforded them but little, if any, aſſiſtance. His parſimony exceeded his attachment to them. The ſame cauſe prevented his giving more than a feeble ſupport to men of genius. It is true he employed the celebrated Magliabecchi as his librarian, and to whoſe honour he ſtruck medals, but that learned man lamented, moſt feelingly, the decline of that patronage which he had been accuſtomed to receive at Florence.

Amongſt his virtues his piety is not to be noticed, for his religion was debaſed by the narroweſt ſuperſtition. His bigotry would have diſgraced a monk, and rendered him the dupe of thoſe who made equal pre-

He was ſuperceded by ſignior Vincenzo Pacci, who continued in this office until 1762 or 1763. Henry d'Avenant, Eſq. was ſent, by George I. to the court of Florence as his envoy-extraordinary, and Chriſtopher Crow, Eſq. was February 2, 1715, conſul at Leghorn; he was ſucceeded in this poſt, in 1723, by John Fuller, Eſq. In this ſituation things remained until the extinction of the Medici.

tenſions

tenſions to religion. He had ſhewn much more reſpect to the deity by taking off the grievous taxes from his ſubjects, and freeing them from thoſe wretches his informers, than by all his idle mummeries.

In his perſon he was inclined to the houſe of Auſtria, as well in the ſwelling of the lower lip, as in that ſettled melancholy caſt of features, viſible in the repreſentations of all of that family.

He ſtruck a profuſion of coins and medals in ſo long a reign, ſome of the latter are larger than thoſe of any other ſovereign. There is a dollar of his, which is very appoſite to his character, as the firſt commercial potentate in Italy. On the obverſe is his head and ſuperſcription, upon the reverſe a repreſentation of the port and harbour of Leghorn, with ſhipping; the legend, *Et Patet et Favet.* His money was pure, and well executed, ſome extremely ſo.

What a contraſt is there in the lives of Coſmo I. and Coſmo III. It is difficult to determine

Digitized by Google

determine whether ſuch a character as the laſt is moſt deſerving indignation or contempt.

Coſmo married Margaret-Louiſa, daughter of Gaſton-John-Baptiſt, duke of Orleans, April 9, 1661, and who died September 17, 1721, by whom he had,

1. Ferdinando, grand prince of Tuſcany, born Auguſt 9, 1663, and died October 30, 1713, leaving no child, by Violante-Beatrice, daughter of Maximilian-Mary-Emanuel, elector of Bavaria, whom he married December 30, 1688. She died in 1731.

2. Giovanni-Gaſton, who ſucceeded to the throne of Tuſcany.

3. Maria-Anna-Louiſa, born Auguſt 11, 1667, married June 5, 1691, to John-William, elector Palatine, who died in 1716, and ſhe, October 31, 1743. As this princeſs ſurvived the reſt of the grand ducal family, the reader will find a farther account of her at the cloſe of this volume.

CHAPTER

## CHAPTER XX.

### THE LIFE OF GIOVANNI-GASTON, GRAND DUKE OF TUSCANY.

GIOVANNI-GASTON, born May 24, 1671, was upwards of fifty years old when he ſucceeded to Tuſcany, and having no child, ſeemed doomed to be the laſt of the ſovereign family of Medici, which, either by uſurpation, or a better title, had governed Florence more than three centuries; a fate common with the royal houſes of Plantagenet, Tudor, Valois, Jagellon, and Vaſa; and which will probably ſometime attend thoſe of Brunſwick and Bourbon. Giovanni ſeemed leſs than his ſubjects to lament the extinction of his family.

He was more indolent than even his father had been, he not only tamely acquieſced in the determination of the great ſovereigns, but was diſpoſed to devote the remainder

Digitized by Google

mainder of his days to the moſt luxurious idleneſs. The grand duke ſeldom left his bed, and never ſuffered himſelf to be dreſſed. The reign of ſuch a ſovereign could not be much varied, as far as related to himſelf, yet an account of what happened to his territories involves in it the hiſtory of the greateſt part of Europe, during the period of his government.

Never were there more negotiations carried on to eſtabliſh, or prevent that ſucceſſion, that was ſettled by the quintuple alliance; new treaties were formed for one or other of theſe purpoſes every half year; ſo deſirable was Tuſcany to Auſtria and Spain, and ſuch was their rivalry and diſlike to each other; but intereſt, which commands all things, one while made them of enemies, friends; and at another changed them from friends to enemies again.

In the year 1729 the treaty of Seville was concluded, by which Great Britain, France, and Spain, confirmed the former diſpoſition of the ſucceſſion of the Grand Duchy with



Digitized by Google

Parma, and to effectually accompliſh this, it was farther ſtipulated that ſix thouſand of his catholick majeſty's troops ſhould garriſon thoſe places which have been mentioned.

The moſt perſuaſive arguments were directed to be urged to both Giovanni, and Antonio duke of Parma, to permit this body of men to march into their dominions. Don Carlos, the Infant, in whoſe favour theſe treaties had been concluded, was, in return, if the ſovereigns complied, to take an oath of fidelity to them, and to promiſe that neither he nor his troops ſhould do any thing to prejudice the authority of theſe princes.

Antonio, who had ſucceeded his brother Odoardo, in 1693, had the ſpirit to reſent the quintuple alliance; to ſhew his ſenſe of the injury, he had the courage to invite the ſon of the unfortunate James II. to his capital, and treated him as monarch of Britain. Giovanni acted a very different and leſs noble part.

Treaties are ſeldom valued but whilſt they

they are beneficial; or continue longer than a favourable opportunity offers of breaking them. The emperor was hurt that so much was to go to a prince of Spain, and the ambitious Elizabeth, the mother of Don Carlos, carried her wishes much farther.

The insincerity of the former was seen by his obstructing the succession of the young prince to Parma, upon the death of Antonio the last duke, and in whom the family of Farnese became extinct. The emperor did more than complain, he marched soldiers into the duchy, under pretence of securing the succession, as the dowager he said was pregnant; and the posthumous child, if a son, was intitled to the dominions of his father.

So little dependence is there upon the most solemn treaties, and so trifling was the guarantee of Britain and France! Those powers were now, to prevent an open rupture, necessitated to obtain the second treaty of Vienna, concluded in 1731. By this Charles VI. was prevailed upon to admit



Digitized by Google

the ſix thouſand Spaniards to garriſon both Tuſcany and Parma, the latter of which was to be delivered up to Don Carlos; the widow of Antonio now confeſſing, what all Europe knew before, that ſhe was not likely to become a mother.

This conceſſion of Auſtria did not proceed from generoſity, but from an almoſt abſolute neceſſity. That houſe had loſt Spain by the failure of one branch, and the empire threatened to paſs to another family, by Cæſar's want of male-iſſue. The imperialiſts had paid no attention to right with regard to the ſucceſſion of Tuſcany, and now found themſelves in the ſame ſituation as the Medici and Farneſe.

The emperor's thoughts were now therefore engroſſed by obtaining the pragmatic ſanction, by which it was ſtipulated that his hereditary dominions ſhould deſcend to his daughter Maria-Thereſa, and the imperial honors ſhould be procured for Francis-Stephen, duke of Lorrain, who had married that archduchеſs. It was therefore his intereſt

to

Digitized by Google

to procure the friendſhip of the royal houſes of Brunſwick and Bourbon.

Although there were weighty reaſons for Charles VI.'s uſing the utmoſt ſincerity, yet both Britain and France ſuſpected him; and to enſure the execution of what had been ſtipulated, fleets were equipped, troops put on board, and the infant, Don Carlos, leaving Spain, travelled through France, embarked at Antibes in Provence, and was convoyed by admiral Sir Charles Wager, and the Spaniſh admiral, into Italy.

The Spaniards faithfully complied with the conditions of the treaty of Seville; the Marquis de Charni immediately took the oath of allegiance to Giovanni, in behalf of the forces under his command, and before they garriſoned Leghorn. Some time afterwards Don Carlos declared himſelf of age, and did homage to the grand duke, who acknowledged him his ſucceſſor, with the title of Grand Prince: the Florentines rejoicing much in the determination.

How extraordinary, that the houſe of



Digitized by Google

Brunſwick ſhould be the immediate means of placing a prince of Bourbon in ſo rich and valuable a principality; for without their aſſiſtance probably Don Carlos had never been admitted into Italy.

The emperor ſhewed the chagrin he felt by publiſhing a reſcript, firſt forbidding, and afterwards condemning both Giovanni and Carlos, the one for accepting and the other for performing homage. This conduct was more than ſufficient to make Spain declare war againſt a power, from whom ſhe entertained the hopes of obtaining ſomething conſiderable, eſpecially as ſhe was aſſiſted by both France and Savoy.

Philip V. had always lamented the loſs of the kingdom of Naples, which he had ceded to the emperor when archduke, to ſecure to himſelf the more important ſucceſſion to Spain. The Neapolitans were equally diſſatisfied at the exchange. It is therefore eaſy to conceive the rapidity with which Don Carlos over-run that kingdom.

Theſe

Digitized by Google

Theſe ſucceſſes were grating to Charles VI. and by no means acceptable to the other great powers, as it was now evident that the queen of Spain intended to procure far the largeſt part of Italy for Don Carlos, and to erect a conſiderable monarchy for him, under the title of King of Lombardy.

Savoy was alarmed and diſappointed: ſhe had been promiſed that part of Milan ſhould be conquered, to be added to her domain, but no attempt of that kind was ever made; for all theſe reaſons ſhe joined with France in requeſting Britain would obtain a peace. The emperor was in no condition to oppoſe; the only obſtacles were on the part of Spain, who with a refined policy ſpun out the war, and, pretending to reſent an affront the crown of Portugal had given, attacked that kingdom, and whilſt Britain ſent her fleet thither, ſhe gave time for Carlos to effectually eſtabliſh himſelf upon the Neapolitan throne.

The third treaty of Vienna, concluded in



Digitized by Google

1736, gave a new turn to the ſucceſſion of Tuſcany, as well as of other ſtates. The courts of London and Verſailles ſettled the preliminaries: By theſe Francis-Stephen, duke of Lorrain and Barr, was to have Tuſcany upon the extinction of the Medici; at which period he was to reſign his hereditary dominions to Staniſlaus, the philoſopher, father-in-law to Lewis XV. and titular king of Poland; and, upon his death, they were to be annexed to France.

Don Carlos made this ſacrifice, with Parma, for the regal honours of Naples and Sicily; the latter of theſe Savoy had, in 1720, ceded to the emperor for Sardinia. Two diſtricts in Milan were alſo added to Savoy, the remainder of that duchy, with Parma, Placentia, and Mantua, were to be provinces to the emperor, to whom France relinquiſhed all her conqueſts.

Thus was the fate of all Italy changed to the ſatisfaction of none of the parties. Cæſar lamented his many loſſes. Elizabeth of Spain, and the infant Don Carlos, become king

Digitized by Google

king of the Sicilies, grieved that Tuſcany and Parma were to be relinquiſhed. The duke of Lorrain exceedingly regretted the neceſſity of parting with the dominions of his anceſtors. The duke of Savoy, who had before been diſpleaſed with the exchange of the fertile Sicily for the barren Sardinia, and had flattered himſelf on that account, with being put into poſſeſſion of at leaſt a great part of Milan, was by no means contented.

Nor was Giovanni more pleaſed; he regarded Don Carlos as his near relation, almoſt as his lawful heir, not ſo the duke of Lorrain, who was a ſtranger to him, and with whoſe family his had never made but one alliance, and that ſeveral generations back. This indolent ſovereign, however, ſhewed no other diſpleaſure than exclaiming from his pillow, "He wondered whether the monarchs "would make him a third heir to his do-"minions," requeſting to know "what "child France and the empire would next "beget for him."

The plotting Elizabeth made a more vi-

gorous

Digitized by Google

gorous oppoſition. The troops were not removed from Tuſcany, until the emperor marched his forces towards the frontiers; and the Engliſh miniſter, from the popular clamour, was obliged to declare war againſt Spain. Foiled in this, ſhe laid claim to the valuable perſonalties of the Medici, but happily for Florence, this was equally ſlighted, for Carlos had ſtripped the palaces in Parma of the vaſt collections her princes had made. Moſt of the pictures and other curioſities now adorn the palaces of the kings of Spain. The library, containing eighteen thouſand volumes, a rich cabinet of medals, and other rare things, were conveyed to Naples *.

Probably none more anxiouſly wiſhed the immenſe valuables that compoſed the Medicean collection to remain in Florence,

* Charles acted with much more generoſity when he quitted the throne of Naples to poſſeſs that of Spain; for then he left every thing that belonged to the palace, and whatever had been collected from Herculaneum, even to the antique jem upon his finger.

than

Digitized by Google

than Giovanni. It would have hurt him prodigiously that those vast collections which his family had for so many centuries been heaping together, at the expence of so much treasure, should have been dispersed, and Florence robbed of what was almost now to be the only memorial of their ancient princes.

As to the sovereignty, that was not in his power to withhold. The Germans therefore succeeded the Spaniards in garrisoning his principal towns. Nor was he much more concerned for the internal administration of his dominions, leaving the care of them almost entirely to his ministers, the Commandeur d'Elbene, the steward of the household, the president of the council, and the marquis Renuccini.

It is impossible to give much of the personal history of a prince, who, from mere indolence and sloth, was never dressed for the last thirteen years of his life, and who never left his bed for the last eight. His appearance was singularly whimsical, he received

Digitized by Google

received thoſe, whom he ſuffered to approach him, in his ſhirt without ruffles, a cravat of conſiderable length, made of muſlin, none of the fineſt, and a night-cap; all of which were beſmeared with ſnuff.

Towards the latter part of his life, this filthy habit ſo far grew upon him, that the late earl of Sandwich, the ſingularly great patron of the author of theſe ſheets, and whoſe loſs he muſt ever deplore, acquainted the writer, that to ſtifle the diſagreeable ſmells of his bed, the room was covered entirely, when his lordſhip was introduced to his royal highneſs, with new gathered roſes.

His levee was at noon, when thoſe who had buſineſs with him were ſummoned to his bed-chamber. He conſtantly dined at five o'clock in the evening, and ſupped at two in the morning. He always eat alone, and generally in bed. The hiſtory of one day is the hiſtory of a year. His chief favourite was Joannimo, with whom he uſually talked for two or three hours at meal

Digitized by Google

meal times, as alſo with ſome of his attendants called Ruſpanti, from the circumſtance of their being paid in ruſpes.

Theſe were a body of young men of between two or three hundred, choſen out of all nations, who were not confined to any particular dreſs, but were always very finely perfumed and powdered. Moſt of theſe were Germans; they received from two to five ruſpes a week, and were regularly paid by Joannimo every Wedneſday and Saturday. The annual expence of them was ſuppoſed to amount to eighty thouſand crowns. Their only employ was to attend at dinner and ſupper, and at thoſe times, ſcandal ſays, that by the admiſſion of young women, ſcenes were acted too indecent to be named, ſuch as were only fit for the Cyprian rites, and meant to recal thoſe pleaſures which age had diſqualified him from enjoying.

Giovanni had ſome taſte for literature, but not in ſo great a degree as his brother Ferdinando. He was very fond of experimental philoſophy and chemiſtry; a paſſion he

he inherited from his father. Nor was he without ſome of the religious vagaries of Coſmo III. His chamber was always open to pilgrims going to Rome, whom he entertained with converſation and cordials, and diſmiſſed with a dollar towards bearing their expences. He had been in ſeveral parts of Europe, eſpecially Germany, and was fond of the natives of that country; took much pains to get a perfect maſtery of their language, and thought he knew their various dialects. He exceeded Coſmo in what was the latter's principal merit, his condeſcenſion, and eſpecially to ſtrangers, who found a more welcome reception at his court than his own ſubjects; novelty perhaps had its charms in this caſe, giving ſome little variety to a life of ſo much ſameneſs. But Giovanni did more, he excelled his father in lenity to his own ſubjects, who extremely loved him, and forgot all his many whims and follies; and, upon his death, which happened July 9, 1737, when he had attained the age of ſixty-ſix years; the grief the Florentines ſhewed was almoſt immoderate,

Digitized by Google

moderate. The memory of the many great men that the Medici had given them heightened their ſorrow, and the idea of their becoming a province and an appendage to Auſtria, did not tend to allay their uneaſineſs and anxieties.

It is impoſſible not ſincerely to pity the hard fate of Giovanni, whoſe misfortune it was to want an heir to his dominions; and, to aggravate it, ſaw the ſucceſſion twice indecently ſettled without ſo much as an application being made to him, or his father, for their conſent; but this, and a certain good-nature, is all that we ought to either pity or admire in him. His indolence and great depravity are blemiſhes that nothing can excuſe.

Giovanni married at Duſſeldorp, July 2, 1697, Anna-Maria-Franciſca, daughter of Julius-Francis, the laſt duke of Sax-Lauenburg, and widow of William, count palatine of the Rhine, by whom ſhe had children; but never had any by Giovanni. She was every way a ſuitable match for him,



Digitized by Google

for beſides a rich jointure ſhe poſſeſſed, as an heireſs, he had with her the valuables of the ancient houſe of Lauenburg; and it was ſuppoſed he would have had that duchy, as it had deſcended to females, but they were adjudged to a German prince, whoſe anceſtor had formed a reciprocal compact, that in caſe of failure of males, their dominions ſhould go to thoſe of the other family. He had, however, conſiderable eſtates in Bohemia to which no one conteſted his right; and to take poſſeſſion of them, as well as to proſecute his claim to Lauenberg, he was for ſome time in Bohemia and Germany. The grand ducheſs ſurviving Giovanni, returned into Germany, to the family ſhe had by her former marriage.

As the princeſs Maria-Anna-Louiſa ſurvived her brother, the grand duke, ſome farther particulars ſhall be mentioned of her, eſpecially as ſhe was the laſt of the illuſtrious houſe of Medici.

She had been married to John-William, elector palatine; a prince, who from poſ-

ſeſſing

Digitized by Google

ſeſſing the ſame taſte as the Medici, might be ſuppoſed to promiſe much happineſs to her, and the more ſo, as in the greatneſs of their alliances, they equalled any houſe in Europe; but ſhe was ſo extremely jealous of him, that it laid her open to inſults, often following him veiled, and with a mantle, to diſcover his gallantries.

Upon his death ſhe returned to Florence, having always retained the greateſt regard for her countrymen, and procured penſions for ſuch who came to the palatinate court, who excelled in any art. During the life of Giovanni, ſhe was attended by the great officers belonging to him, and made uſe of his equipage.

She was extremely fond of pomp, and very ſtately. When in Germany, ſhe was conſtantly attended by her whole ſuite, and that equal to the prince her huſband's; and when ſhe alone remained of all her family, ſhe reſided in the palace Pitti until her death, which happened October 31, 1743. She was buried with all the magnificence



Digitized by Google

due to a daughter and ſiſter of Tuſcany, and to the widow of an elector palatine.

The furniture of her bed-chamber was all of ſilver, tables, chairs, ſtools, and ſcreens: "More rich, ſingular, and extraordinary," ſays a noble author, "than handſome."

She never went out for ſome years before her death, except to church, or ſometimes to ſee Florence in the evening; at theſe times ſhe was drawn by eight horſes, and attended by a guard. The preſent earl of Orford informed the author, that he once had the honour to pay his reſpects to her. She received him under a large black canopy, ſhe ſtood indeed, but after a few minutes talking, ſhe aſſured him of her good wiſhes, and then diſmiſſed him; nor did ſhe ſee any one but in this ridiculous way.

The emperor Francis I. treated her with vaſt reſpect, when he became ſovereign of Tuſcany, and allowed her, in addition to her revenue, ten thouſand pounds annually. He was extremely obliged to her for conſenting that the immenſe treaſure of every kind of valuables

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Juvenco.

, or Juvenco.

Antonio.

Barnardo.

Lorenzo.

Octaviano.

jano, = Julia, natural daughter of Alesandro,
les. duke of Florence, and widow of Fra. Cantelmo.

ojano, = Delia, daughter of —— Sanseverina,
prince of Bisinani.

: Ponte = Caterina = Trojano Car.
iis of prince of
ula. Turris Novis.

'ajetano.
: of
rta.

reo,
t seige of Buda,
1684.

Digitized by Google

valuables belonging to her family ſhould go with the duchy, and without which probably Giovanni would not have agreed to it.

However, in her will, ſhe did not totally omit ſome of the relations of her name, how diſtant ſoever they might be. She bequeathed to prince Octavio de Medici two ſtrings of oriental pearls, valued at ſixty thouſand crowns, and one hundred thouſand crowns in money. Some rich effects ſhe left to ſignior Nicolo de Medici. She alſo bequeathed to the king of Spain a jewel valued at one hundred thouſand crowns. All the plate marked with the arms of the family, and ſome jewels, amounting in the whole to two hundred thouſand crowns, ſhe left to the elector palatine.

In her perſon this princeſs was tall, eaſy, and genteel, her complexion was fair, her eyes large and expreſſive, both thoſe and her hair were black; her mouth was ſmall, with a fulneſs in the lips; her teeth were white as ivory; her voice was maſculine, and ſhe laughed loud. This deſcription was given of her when a



Digitized by Google

wife. In the latter part of her life ſhe was the reverſe of that good humoured ſloven her brother. Then, indeed, ſhe never ſo far loſt her dignity as even to ſmile. There is a medal which gives, on one ſide, the buſto of Ferdinando, her elder brother, and on the other that of herſelf: the artiſt was Cheron.

The plaintive lines of Charles Earl of Middleſex, afterwards Duke of Dorſet, ſo well known by the name of Arno's Vale, very pathetically expreſs the loſs that the Etruſcans deplored, in the extinction of the Medici. They have been ſet to muſic by Mr. Holcombe. His grace was at Florence at the time, and ſpeaks what the people then, and even now, feel and lament as their greateſt misfortune.

I.

When here, LUCINDA, firſt we came,
Where ARNO rolls his ſilver ſtream,
How briſk the nymphs, the ſwains how gay,
Content inſpir'd each rural lay;
The birds in livelier concerts ſung,
The grapes in thicker cluſters hung,
All look'd as joy would never fail
Among the ſweets of ARNO's VALE.

II. But

Digitized by Google

II.

But now, ſince good PALEMON died,
The chief of ſhepherds and the pride,
Old ARNO's ſons muſt all give place
To northern ſwains, an iron race!
To taſte of pleaſure now is o'er,
Thy notes, LUCINDA, charm no more,
The Muſes droop, the Goths prevail;
Adieu the ſweets of ARNO's VALE.

Such is the ſketch of the hiſtory of the Medici, that have given many ſovereigns to Florence and Tuſcany, who have thrice received the triple diadem, given two queens to France, dukes to Urbino and Nemours, that have been honoured ſo often with the cardinalate, that have been admitted into the moſt illuſtrious orders in the world, and have ſtill more frequently borne the ſtandard of the republic of Florence.

They were beholden only to themſelves for their grandeur; they have ſhewn what arduous taſks may be ſurmounted by unwearied perſeverance. It fills the mind with aſtoniſhment, when we reflect that of ſubjects they became the ſovereigns of their



Digitized by Google

country; not by arms, or alliances, ſo much as by the moſt refined policy.

Nor is it leſs ſurpriſing that thoſe riches, with which they raiſed ſo many monuments to their own honour, and to the advantage and ornament of that ſtate over which they preſided, and to the world in general, were generally acquired by the moſt prudent and laudable means, frugality and induſtry. What in others was incompatible, they conſtantly united. The concerns of trade, which are ſuppoſed to debaſe the minds of others, were carried to the greateſt extent by the Medici, the moſt refined of the ſons of Adam.

It muſt be allowed that their vices always kept pace with their refinements, and that they hid their crimes under ſome reſembling virtue. But as the world have more obligations to the Medici than to any other family that ever appeared, by their reſtoring and improving knowledge, learning, and elegance, it will in time obliterate their faults; their uſurpation, tyranny, pride, their perfidiouſneſs, vindictive cruelty,

Digitized by Google

elty, their parricides and inceſt, will be remembered no more. Future ages will forget their atrocious crimes in a fond admiration for, and gratitude to them.

Florence, who regarded them as the worſt of enemies, purchaſing their aggrandizement by the ruin of their beſt families, and their moſt virtuous citizens, now mention their beloved names only with ſighs, and deplore their loſs with the warmeſt and moſt lively ſorrow. They will claim them as their own, will view their capital as the place whence that emanation ſhone forth, whoſe rays will illumine the world to the remoteſt period of time.

A Kengis Khan, a Timer Beg, or a Charles XII. dart through the globe like meteors, and leave a momentary ſenſation of mingled wonder and horror. The Medici, on the contrary, have purchaſed a reſpect that all their bad actions cannot obſcure, and which each ſucceeding age will be proud to give them.



Digitized by Google

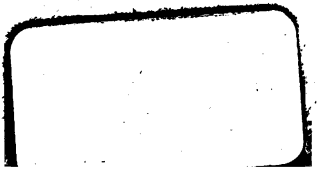
The ſame fate will attend them as attends Peter the Great. The Ruſſians forget his ferocity in his endeavours to reform them, and to bring them from a ſtate not far removed from their brethren of the foreſt, to think and act like men.—If ſuch a fate awaits Peter, how much more the Medici, becauſe the Etruſcans cannot turn their eyes, but they muſt be preſented with the fineſt memorials of their elegance, taſte, and munificence.

FINIS.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google



Digitized by Google